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* FEB 20 1922
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE
APOLOGIES
OF
JUSTIN MARTYR, TERTULLIAN,
and MINUTIUS FELIX,
In Defence of the
Christian Religion,
WITH THE
COMMONITORY
OF
Vincentius Lirinensis,

Concerning the
Primitive RULE of FAITH,
Translated from their Originals:

With NOTES, for the Advantage chiefly of
English Readers, and a PRELIMINARY
DISCOURSE upon each Author.

Together with
A PREFATORY DISSERTATION about
the Right Use of the FATHERS.

By WILLIAM REEVES, M. A. Rector of
Craneſford, in Middleſex.

In Two Volumes.

*Tu ſcito nobis nihil eſſe antiquius quam Chriſti jura ſervare, nec Patrum
transſerre terminos.* Hieronym. Epiſt. 68. ad Theo.

LONDON, Printed by W. B. for A. and J. Churchill, at the
Black-Swan in Pater-Noſter-Row. 1709.

TO

Robert Nelson, Esquire.

S I R,

THese *Apologies* for the *Christians* of old, need none now, I hope, for themselves in a Christian Government ; and they are so much of a Complexion with the *Person* they are inscrib'd to, that whoever is not displeas'd with the one, cannot possibly take Offence at the other. Nor am I in danger of Flattery upon a Subject, where should I take the greatest Liberty, I should be just. But while some *Hackney Orators* let out their Praises at such a mercenary and mischievous rate, and make no Scruple of extolling Men to Heaven in spite of a Life of Sin ; Silence upon this occasion would be next to Sacrilege ; and to pass over the brightest and perfectest Examples of the Age,

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would be an Omission, that few would
~~pardon~~, but those *Examples* themselves.

No Man certainly has studied the *Ancients* to better purpose than your self; you have transcrib'd them in your Soul; they are the *Glass* you dress by, and a more beautiful Figure, a fairer Image of *Primitive Christianity* is hardly to be hop'd for. You write, and you live so exactly after these *old Saints*, that I am really at a stand which to recommend most, the *Copy*, or the *Original*, whether *You* and *Your Works*, or *Them* and *Theirs*. For tho' the Rules and Examples in these Books, are wonderfully insinuating and agreeable to a well disposed Mind, yet Ink and Paper, Notion and Picture, are but cold Things, and warm nothing in comparison of Flesh and Blood, nothing in respect of that Wisdom and Goodness we see with all the Charms of Life and Action about it. And a more charming Object in the World there is not, than an *accomplish'd Christian*, one who shines with all the Graces of a *polish'd Integrity*.

You

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You want indeed, (and blessed be God for it) the Advantage of their *fiery Trials* to *illustrate* one side of your Virtue, to make your Fidelity more *blazing* : but whether the Wind or the Sun, Temptations of the rougher or the softer kind, have the greater Power, is not easie to determin; but History seems to say, that good Men have wrapt their Religion faster about 'em in bad Weather, and that Prosperity has spoil'd more Christians than Persecution. To you then, good Sir, I take the Liberty of addressing these Discourses, upon no other Account, but because I know you *live the great Things* in them; and because Love has a Power of making Slaves more effectually than Interest; a *Captive* of which Quality, I profess my self to be; and whoever shall live but half the time I have done under the Enchantments of a Conversation so wise and gracious, so instructive and beneficent, and every way so ingaging, will find it hard, extremely hard, to be less your *Servant* than I am. In plain Terms

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therefore, I am forc'd to make you this Present, nor was there any avoiding it, but ~~by~~ falling out with my self; and so much *Self-indulgence*, if you will not approve, I hope, for once, you will pardon.

Give me Leave likewise to remind you, Sir, who it was that propos'd the Undertaking, and encourag'd it to the End. You gave me the Confidence to believe, that by a Work of this Nature I might do some Service to the Christian Faith, and the Christian Morals, when some *Moderns* were doing their best to reform us out of both. You thought that Men long engag'd in the Fashions and Vices of the Age, and who had *Gods* for their Turn, would be extremely inquisitive and well satisfy'd, before they parted with every thing in Hand, for something in Reverſion; and that ſuch a ſudden Deadneſs to this World, and ſo lively a Paſſion for the next, ſuch Stricteſs of Diſcipline, and Purity of Manners, that amazing Magnanimity, Patience, and
Loyalty

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Loyalty under the most provoking Injuries, that strange Spirit of Humility, Meekness, and universal Charity, which make up a great Part of these *Apologies*, are so expressive and beautiful a Scene of the *Powers* of *True Religion*, and have kindled such pure Fires, and gentle Passions in your own Breast, that you was of Opinion, whoever read and compar'd them with the present *Reverse* of things, must needs be very far gone not to be affected with the Comparison, and to be so far touch'd at least, as to admire what he will not practise.

But above all, the many bold *Appeals* here recorded, the triumphant *Challenges* to *Emperor* and *Senate*, to put the Truth of the Christian Religion upon this Issue; that if they would bring any one of those false Prophets, that pass'd for inspir'd, to their Tribunals, and if any ordinary Christian did not in the Name of *Jesus* cast out the evil Spirit, and put the Prophet to Silence; and not only so, but if he did not force *Æsculapius*,

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Apollo, or any of those *Demons* they worshipp'd for *Gods*, forthwith to quit their Possessions with Fear and Trembling and gnashing of Teeth, and proclaim themselves Devils in the presence of their Worshippers, and if he fail'd in any one Instance, the Christians desir'd no Mercy, but to be look'd upon as Cheats, and were willing to be proceeded against with the utmost Contempt and Cruelty imaginable. This I say, was so *publick* and *sensible* a Proof, so level to the lowest Understandings, so daring and demonstrative of a good Cause and a good Conscience, that you judg'd it highly reasonable for the less knowing People to be better acquainted with it; and I believe nothing can be found more miraculous and astonishing in all Christian Antiquity.

The Devil, who in Scripture is stiled the *Prince*, and the *God of this World*, had reign'd as such above two thousand Years; upon the coming of Christ, the Oracles of a sudden in a great measure
were

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were all struck dumb; the Philosophers presently and Men of Parts set their Heads to work about the Causes of this strange universal Silence; some assign one Cause, some another, and some lay it upon the Christians themselves; St. *John* declares, *For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the Works of the Devil*; the unclean Spirits own him to be *Jesus of Nazareth, the Holy One of God*, and beseech him not to destroy them. *The Seventy return'd again with Joy, saying, Lord: even the Devils are subject unto us through thy Name.* After his Resurrection, when he sent out his Apostles to preach the Gospel, he particularly promis'd the Power over evil Spirits both to them and their Followers; *And these Signs shall follow them that believe; in my Name they shall cast out Devils, &c.* And with what Exultation, Triumph, and Assurance, the Primitive Christians appeal'd to this Power over the *Heathen* Gods upon all Occasions, is sufficiently evident from these Apologies; and the Casting out
the

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the Prince of this World, being the End of Christ's coming into the World; and the most plain, proper, and convincing Argument *that all the Gods of the Nations were Devils*, being to prove it by their own Confession: This astonishing Power lasted longest in the Church, and was a standing Miracle for several hundred Years together, till the Kingdom of Darknes was destroy'd, and the Christian Religion became the Joy of the whole Earth. And was ever Argument like this, both for the Being of a God, and the Truth of the Gospel?

But though Christ is said to come on *purpose to destroy the Works of the Devil*, though he did it effectually to the Conviction of the *Heathen World* by a continu'd Miracle, unquestionably of above three hundred Years standing, yet (if we may believe some Men) all this *Devil-craft* was nothing more than pure *Priest-craft* only; a bewitching Name, that in some measure

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sure supplies the Place of the Devil, and does his Business to a Wonder; for *Priest-craft* is an Answer to every Thing, a Charm against all the Force both of Reason and Revelation. Surely these *Priests*, if they were Men, were very strange ones, and as Active, Bloody and Cunning, as we can possibly imagin Devils to be. But while these Men tax others with Credulity and Easiness for believing a Matter of Fact attested by the general Consent of all Historians both prophane and sacred, what a Train of Incredibilities do they (poor Wretches!) with a seeming Complacency believe themselves? They believe against *Moses* and the *Prophets*, *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and all the *Primitive Fathers*, and what these say were acted by Devils, they affirm to be acted by Men. They believe that these *Priests*, were a superior Order of Jugglers, who for two thousand Years could successfully impose upon Mankind in all the distant Places of the Earth, that they could
make

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make the whole World dance constant Attendance to their Temples and Oracles, at the Expence of numerous, costly, and impertinent Ceremonies; and persuade Nations to leave their Country; and Kings, and Princes, as well as People, in spite of all the Reluctancies of Nature, to sacrifice their Sons and their Daughters without a Murmur, and think it meritorious so to do; they believe likewise, that all these *Priests* successively were so much the same, so stanch in Blood and Secrecy, that in this vast Tract of Time none could find in their Heart to relent, and betray the Imposture; that this their Craft was above the Reach of Emperors, States-Men, and the wisest Philosophers in the wisest Ages; that is, all the World, beside the *Priests*, all this time were perfectly besotted. And yet our *Scepticks* find that these *Active, Bloody, Cunning Priests*, were of a sudden put all to Silence, Shame and Confusion, they find all the *Demoniacks* cured, and all this effected by the most contemptible

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tible Sect of Men living, and meerly by the Name of *Jesus*, or the *Sign* of his Passion, and that this was the great Instrument in converting the *Pagan* World. Let not such Men therefore especially charge others with Credulity, who can readily swallow these and many more monstrous Absurdities, that attend the believing the ancient *Oracles* and *Possessions* to have been pure *Priestcraft* only; but the true Reasons why these Unbelievers are so fond of laying all this Load of Craft upon *Priests*, are, because they would insinuate *Priests* of all Religions to be the same, and because the Notion of Devils raises some Ideas that give them Pain. They can do pretty well with Religion upon speculative Principles, but when we come with a Proof from the Confession of *tormented Spirits*, this is so sensible an Argument, and gauls so violently, that they cannot forbear winching and being uneasy; and then they must mend, or cry out, *All is Priestcraft*. And this being the Argument these

Apolo

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Apologies abound with, you thought it seasonable they should be made *English*.

I am very sensible, that the Time I have been now spending upon these Reasons, I have been transgressing against the *Mode of Epistolary Dedications*, which are usually laid out all upon the Persons they are address'd to, upon their Family, their Fortune, or something else that is not *truly theirs*; and so strongly perfum'd, that they overcome the Perception of what would otherwise offend. But I must tell you, Sir, that these were your own Reasons for my entring upon these Translations; and did they but come abroad in that irresistible Language they came to me from your own Mouth, I should not question their good Success upon others, as well as my self; and the doing the least Good to others, though out of season, I am sure would be the most agreeable Obligation I could lay upon your self. Besides, Sir, I know full well,

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well, what Pain I must give you by an *Epistle* of this *Kind* ; and what tasteless Things the Praises of Men are, especially in this *Party-Age* , to one whose Conversation is so much in Heaven ; he minds them no more , than a Traveller does what he hears upon the Road , when he is in Post-haste to take Possession of a vast Estate. The Commendations of our Conscience are our richest Cordial ; and we shall fare neither better nor worse in the other World, for what we are thought of in this, but as we are in truth found to be by that God, who *seeth in secret, and will reward openly*. And therefore did I consult your Pleasure only, I wou'd say nothing of you , even upon this tempting Occasion , but be as industriously silent, as you are of your own Charities. But we, particularly we of the *Clergy* , in Justice to such uncommon Vertue, in Gratitude to so tender a Friend, and universal a Benefactor , and in Consideration of the Publick Good, ought not in Conscience to pass by an Example of
this

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this kind, but with Thankfulness to God propose it to the Imitation of the World, who chuse rather to live by *Example* than *Rule*; for if such *shining Lights* ought not over-much to hide themselves, surely those they shine upon, are not to do it for them; I must then in compliance with Conscience say something, tho' at the hazard of your Displeasure, and my own Weakness.

The Men who have won mighty Battles, or nicely manag'd surprizing Turns of State, the glittering Descriptions of Armies, and the *Glories* that surround the Head of the *Conqueror*; the Court that is made, and the Incense that is offer'd to the *Rich* and the *Fortunate*, with the flattering Glosses upon Avarice and Ambition, and the luscious Panegyrick on such, as have not even the *Form* of *Godliness*; these, I say, are the Characters now-a-days, that make the shining Figures in *Story*; these are the Examples dress'd up, and cultivated for the Entertainment and Imitation of the Age;
and

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and what do these serve, but to inspire our *Youth* with false Ideas of Gallantry and Greatness, to enrage that Fewel within them, and set those Lusts and Passions all on Fire, which 'tis both their Duty and their Happiness to subdue and regulate : What do these serve, I say, but to bring an ill Report upon our most Holy Religion; to make Patience, Meekness, Temperance, and Self-denial very ridiculous Things, and, in a word, to put every Christian Vertue out of Countenance.

And therefore, as ever we hope to redress this growing Evil, we must set up *Hero's* of quite another *Make*; *Hero's*, who can forgive and bless their Enemies, and have overcome the *World* and *Themselves*: *Hero's*, whose Heads are big only with Projects of Mercy, and whose Hands are perpetually stretch'd out in Prayer and Alms-deeds, and who are never at ease, but in going about doing Good to Mankind : In whom Religion sits, as it were, in Triumph, with

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all the Passions in Subjection about her ,
and with all the Lustre that Prudence
and Learning , good Sense and good
Breeding can bestow , to make her amia-
ble ; in a word , *Hero's* , who can never
be tax'd with making *Religion* their
Craft , and *Godliness* their *Gain* , which
is one of the weak and malicious Ob-
jections at present against believing the
Priests ;

———*For they defend*
Altars, on which their Lives depend.

Tho' I believe these *Objectors* wou'd not
have greatly car'd to have *defended* the
Altar upon the same Terms the *Priests*
did in the Primitive Times of Persecu-
tion. These , these , I say , are the
Examples that must make Men blush at
their mistaken Notions of Honour , and
fall in Love with Christian Vertue ; and
whenever we have them in so great Per-
fection , we must not spare to shew them
to the World , if we design to bring
Primitive

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Primitive Religion into Repute and Fashion.

There is a Happiness of Constitution, which I make bold in *Tertullian's* Phrase to call *naturally Christian*; and which, as I remember, you us'd to call, *The Grace of our Mother's Bowels*; and excepting, those who were *sanctify'd from the Womb*, few of the Sons of Men seem more sweetly compos'd and turn'd by Nature for *Christianity*, and to enjoy a greater Measure of *Complexional Vertue* than your self. The *good Seed* of moral Christianity, and the Fear of God, was early cast into the *good Ground*, and has brought forth an *hundred-fold*. You set out for the Kingdom of Heaven in the Morning of Life, and long before the Meridian of it, was so far advanc'd in the Way of Truth, so firmly fix'd upon the two *Vincentian Pillars*, *Scripture* and *Primitive Antiquity*, that I find you *disputing with the Doctors* at an Age, when our Gentry find something else to do with their Thoughts, than to lay

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them

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them out upon Religion. And for a Proof of this, let any one but read your excellent * *Letter to an English Priest of the Roman Communion at Rome*, and he will see a Combat in some respect not much unlike that between *Goliab* and *David*; an experienc'd Priest vanquish'd and argu'd down by one who was but a *Youth*, and ruddy, and of a fair Countenance. And tho' neither the Hardness of your Arguments, nor the Softness of your Tongue, could break his Bones, and bring him over in Triumph to the Church of England, yet have they prevail'd effectually on others; and a very late Convert of yours from Popery, is an Instance that Arguments are like *Wedges*, which go not well, but when they are driven by a gentle Hand. And such is the Felicity of your Temper, that you draw no Blood in Controversy, and where you cannot convince, you never gaul.

* In a Book entituled, *Several Letters, which pass'd between Dr. George Hickes, and a Popish Priest.*

Having

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Having thus early secur'd your Principles upon the *Catholick* Foundation, your next Care was to live, as well as believe, as the *Primitive Catholicks* did; to set your *Affection on things above, and not on things on the Earth*; to make God your Hope, your Joy, your Life, your All; to love him with your whole Heart, and your Neighbour as your self; and by continual Application to the Throne of Grace, and Converse with the *ancient Martyrs and Confessors*, you have work'd your self up into that holy and habitual Flame, as few burn with in so clear and constant a Passion, either for God or Man. The Devotions you have bless'd the World with, best speak the *Abundance* of your Heart; for who can pray with that Heavenly Warmth and Perfection, but one who is always at Prayer? Nor can you conceal your Alms, notwithstanding all your Pains, not to let thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.

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Our Misery is mostly of our own making; a Captive in *Turkey* is not in truth so pityable an Object, as the Slave to his own Appetites; and he who, suppose, has five extravagant Lusts to pay Portions to continually, tho' five times richer than another, yet comparatively is more than five times poorer, and has fifty times more trouble than that other, who will have no Lust to provide for. Nay, one imperious Passion, like a single *Thorn in the Flesh*, is enough to make a Man uneasy, in spite of all the Enjoyments upon Earth. Here then you began the War betimes, and turn'd all your Philosophy and Religion against these *Bosom-Enemies*, before they had gotten any *Strong Holds* in Nature; and what a perfect Conquest you have gain'd over *Self*, is wond'rous visible from that perpetual Chearfulness and Serenity, which shines about you under every Condition of Life. You have no Fortunes now to make, nor any you fear to lose; no Ambition or Malice to gratify, nor
any

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any Designs, but against the *Kingdom of Darknes*. Thus it is you steer your Course with Safety and Pleasure in dangerous Seas; thus it is, that in *Job's* Phrase, you are *hid from the Scourge of the Tongue*, when its *Arrows* fly thick from every Quarter. For the *Wisdom* of the *Serpent*, and the *Innocence* of the *Dove*, are so happily united, that where you cannot please, you never offend. *And who is he that will harm you*, while you are so prudent a Follower of *that which is good*? *Who is he*, that can find in his Heart to *harm you*, while you are in Pursuit only how to cloath the Naked, to feed the Hungry, to instruct the Ignorant, and to be a *Father* to the *Miserable* of all *Parties*?

The Trouble of Self-denial, which some esteem so harsh, and hard a part of the Christian Law of Religion, has been over with you for many Years, and by long Custom is become now your *second Nature*, the most easy and delightful Service in the World. For

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the Pleasure that the Proud and Revengeful take in sacrificing to their Resentments, you take in commanding those Passions to be quiet. The *Dogs* and *Horses*, the *Houses* and *Gardens*, and *Pools* of *Water*, with *Men-singers*, and *Women-singers*, and other Gratifications of Flesh and Blood, which the *Animal* Man so much dotes on, are strange insipid things to you, and rather your Pity, than your Pleasure. The Game you hunt after, is to do good to the Bodies and Souls of Men, to plant *Nurseries* of *Religion*, and to water them with your own Instructions, to raise up a *Righteous Seed* for future Generations, and to encrease the *Kingdom* of *Heaven*; and none can think the Pleasure of such a Life, but those who live it: For there is Light and Gladness *sown* for the *Righteous*, which they reap at present from every virtuous Action, and which encreases with Time, and improves upon Enjoyment, and leaves no ungrateful Relish behind it. But O! the Prospect of that Day, when the Sick and Needy, the
Hungry

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Hungry and Naked, and the *many* you have turn'd to *Righteousness*, shall stand all about you at the *Judgment-Seat*, and be telling of your Works of Mercy, and pleading for your exceeding great Reward in Heaven to that *King*, who shall then say, *Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepar'd for you from the Foundation of the World: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me Meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me Drink; I was a Stranger, and ye took me in: For inas-much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it unto me.* Who, I say, upon second Thoughts, would not chuse to enjoy your present Complacency, and ravishing Prospect, rather than to glitter a while, and become the Gaze and Talk of the People; rather than to be *sowing Wind*, and reaping Vanity, and instead of doing Justice and Charity, to be treasuring up the Cries of the Oppressed against the *Day of Wrath*? But I must no longer follow my Inclination, and therefore throw away my Pen, as the Painter in
Plutarch

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Plutarch did his Pencil, in despair of finishing what I have but rudely begun. The bare Relation of your Life, wou'd be the greatest Panegyrick.

May your *Light* thus shine long before Men, that they may see your good Works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven. May you come to the Grave in a full Age, like as a Shock of Corn cometh in, in his Season; and give me leave to do my self the Honour of subscribing,

HONOUR'D SIR,

Your most Humble and

most Obliged Servant,

Craneſford, the 22^e
of June, 1709.

WIL. REEVES.

T H E

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P R E F A C E,

Concerning the

Right Use of the Fathers.

ONE of the Ablest * Criticks, and the most celebrated Scourge of the Fathers, after all his Curiosity and List to expose their Nakedness, cannot but acknowledge, That those Times which came nearest to the Apostles, were necessarily the purest, and less subject to Suspicion of Corruptions either in Doctrine, Manners, or Christian Discipline; it being reasonable to believe, that if there be any Corruptions crept into the Church, they crept in by degrees, by little and little, as it happens in all other Things. Which Concession of his, by the way, I take to be a sufficient Answer to his whole Book. It cannot therefore but be worth our while to translate some of the next best Books to the Bible, to open a Passage for the Unlearned, into the Knowledge of the Purest Times of Christianity, next to the Apostles; but not by Scraps and Quotations, which are neither safe nor satisfactory, but from

* Daille of the Right Use of the Fathers, cap. I.

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the intire Authors themselves; and by short Notes to lay before the People in the most instructing View we can, that Primitive Form and Power of Godliness, that Strength of Reason and Beauty of Example, whereby the old suffering Heroes Apologiz'd and Liv'd the Gentiles into Christians, in an Age when Wit and Wickedness, with all the Kingdom of Darknes, were at the highest Elevation, and in Confederacy against them.

*And were but the Translations of the same Spirit with the Originals, I am persuaded they could not easily be read by well-disposed People, without some good Effect upon their Understanding and Passions. For I find in as clear and deep a * Writer as any of the Age, among several Expedients for antidoting the Minds of the People against the Poison of the Times, this for one, viz. A Choice Collection in English of the ancient Christians, whereby the People might see the Doctrine, Manners, Rites, Customs, Polity, and Discipline, when the Church subsisted purely upon its own Powers and Principles independently on the Empire. This is the Plan I have follow'd, but who besides this Great Master Himself of Stile and Antiquity, can come up to his own Rules, and happily reach that Sublime and Beauty of Translation, he there prescribes? 'Tis no easie Matter to enter into the Soul of an Author, and express him to the Life; to hit off a Good Like, with all the distinguishing Graces; to animate a Picture, and make the Version glow with the Warmth and Spirit of the Original. How well I have*

* Dr. Hickeys's Preface to his Apologetical Vindication, &c.

succeeded

succeeded in the Attempt must be left to the Taste and Judgement of the Reader.

The Holy Scriptures (God be praised) are at liberty, and in English; but the next valuable Writings are still under Lock and Key, and seal'd up as it were in Greek and Latin from the Understandings of the People; and in a Church reform'd upon the ancient Foot, and as yet shining with the Primitive Purity, in Doctrine, Ceremony and Government; 'tis unbecoming, methinks, to let those venerable Records we reform'd by, and glory in, lye buried in their own Language, and of no more Use to the Generality of the People than a Sundial in a Grave; especially, since the Papists make such a noise in vulgar Heads, with the Cry of the Fathers, the Fathers, as if all the Saints and Martyrs in Christendom had been Romanists. But this is right Romance in a literal Sense, and just such another Rant only as that of Thrasillus, who in one of his mad Fits took the Fleet in the Attick Haven to be all his own, when he had not one Ship there. For when our Bishop Jewel challeng'd Harding, to try the Difference between the Church of Rome and us, not only by Dint of Reason, and Testimony of Scripture, but by the Authority of the Fathers, wherein his Antagonist concluded the Sum of the Roman Strength to lye, the Bishop brought forth the whole Host of Ancients on the Reformation-side; whereas Master Harding could muster up no better Friends for Rome, than Martialis, Abdias, Amphilochius, the Decretals of the Popes, and such like notable Forgeries.

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Whoever sets out in the Study of the Christian Mystery without the Conduct of the Fathers, seems to me to be sailing into the Ocean without his Compass, in danger of being tossed to and fro with every Wind of Doctrine, of splitting upon new Plausibilities, of beginning and ending with Socinus, Episcopius, and such like presumptuous and self-sufficient Reasoners. But the Catholick Writers of the first Three or Four Centuries, as they were faithful Guardians of the Gospel deposited in their several Churches, so were they much better appointed for the Interpretation of it, than any other distant Successors; for in the first Fervencies of Religion, the Professors minded nothing else but to provide for their Poor, to guard against Heresie and Innovation, and to live and dye by the Faith. Whereas the moderate and cooler Christians in after Ages, began to strike up a closer Alliance with the World present, to mix Party and Preferment in Debates for Truth, to fish for Gold, and Silver, and worldly Grandeur from the Gospel; and in a word, to have some other Designs than purely upon Heaven. Besides, the nearness to the Apostles, their actual Acquaintance with such Men as heard the Apostles expound their own Doctrines, their Familiarity with the Customs, Traditions, and Phraseology of the Times, and above all, the extraordinary Assurances of the Holy Spirit in those early Days of Persecution, are Advantages no modern Interpreter must pretend to.

Now the Catholick Doctors of the First Ages, I find to be all unanimous in the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Necessity of

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Church-Communion, the Form of Church-Government, &c. In the next place, I consider the Nature of the Evidence this Unanimity is founded on, and I find it to be the surest and most satisfactory Kind of Evidence that can be, namely the Evidence of Senses; for whether such and such were the Doctrines and Government of the Church in the time of these Writers, is not a Question of Right, but of Fact. Not whether these Doctrines and Government are True and Apostolical, for of that hereafter; but whether the Catholick Church actually Taught and Govern'd on this wise at such a time or no; and therefore, tho' I might justly, perhaps, dissent from a Martyr in Matters of pure Reasoning, yet I must be strangely Fool-hardy to call in Question the Testimony of his Senses. For Instance, I find Justin Martyr and Tertullian, with all the rest of the holy Fathers about their Time, positively asserting the Son of God, the Man Christ Jesus, to be truly and properly God, and explaining his eternal Generation without any diminution of the Father, by a Ray from the Sun, or the Kindling of one Light from another. Now, perhaps, tho' I may not think their Reasoning or Similies hold exactly true in ev'ry Point, yet I am sure as to the Fact, viz. That the Divinity of Christ was the Article they maintain'd, tho' they shou'd differ in their Explications of it. For Dr. South and Dr. Sherlock have reason'd very differently about the Principle of Individuation, with respect to the Persons in the ever Blessed Trinity, yet this difference in the Modes of Explication affects not the Mystery it self, which is

in truth inexplicable, but it proves the Trinity to be the current Doctrine at the time of the Dispute; and that Things may be, tho' we differ very much about the Manner of their Existence.

*I find likewise some difference between two very great Saints cotemporary with the Apostles, between * Polycarp and Anicetus, about the Observation of Easter. The First pleading the Practice of St. John for one Time, the second the Practice of St. Peter for another Time; from which unhappy Dissention I conclude that Easter was certainly observ'd, and that Polycarp and Anicetus were not Angels, but Men; and Men too of like Passions with our selves, and withall, that they might both be in the right as to Fact; it being the known Practice of the Apostles to become all things to all Men in Matters of Indifference, to comply with the Customs of every Place they came in, as far as innocently they cou'd; and therefore Polycarp might very well know St. John out of this prudential compliance keep Easter upon one Day at one Place, and Anicetus might know St. Peter keep it upon another Day in another Place for the same Reason. The Error then here committed was a Mistake in Judgment and not in Fact, a disproportion'd excessive Zeal in a matter not worth the Contention. But is this fair Arguing, the Fathers were out in their Judgment, therefore they were out of their Senses; they Reason'd wrong, therefore they cou'd neither hear nor see right; but if Infallibility of Judgment is necessary to make a competent Wit-*

* *Enf. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 14.*

ness of Fact, *there is not a competent Witness in the World. Besides, if such kind of Differences may be urg'd against the Testimony of the Ancients, I know not what will become of the very Apostles themselves; for we find very great Differences between Peter, Paul and Barnabas. But those Enemies of our Church-Government, who make so much of this Objection against the Fathers, wou'd do well to consider, whether they can think it credible that such holy Men so violently tenacious of any the least thing they knew to be Apostolick, so over-zealous in such a petty difference of Time about the Observation of Easter; whether they can really think it possible, that Men so extremely scrupulous and stirring against any Appearance of Innovation, shou'd be universally Still and Silent in so momentous a Change of Church-Government, as that from a Parity of Presbyters to a Superiority of Bishops, had they in the least suspected any such Change or Alteration from the Fundamental Institution of the Apostles, as the Objectors now complain of.*

But because the Right Use of the Fathers is a Point of late much controverted, and wherein I think my self particularly concern'd upon the Account of these Translations, I shall enter into the Merits of this Controversie more distinctly; and in order hereunto the first thing I attempt, shall be to prove,

That the most rational and safest Method to understand the holy Scripture, is to consult the general Sense of the Catholick Writers in the purest Ages of the Church.

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2dly, To answer the most Material Objections against them.

And 3dly, To shew the Unhappy Consequences of too lightly departing from them.

The first thing to be proved, is, That the most rational and safest Method to understand the Holy Scriptures, is to consult the general Sence of the Catholick Writers in the purest Ages of the Church.

The Holy Scripture then I take here for granted, to be a Rule, and the only perfect Rule of Faith and Manners; and the Perfection of it consists herein, that it contains fully and plainly all Things necessary to Salvation: Not that it is so perfectly full in every Mode of Time, and Circumstance of Worship, as to leave no Room for any particular Laws herein to succeeding Governments; nor so perfectly perspicuous, as to require nothing of Ingenuity and Application on the Learner's side. For 'tis evident in Fact, that the Scriptures are not so absolutely perfect, from the foremention'd Difference between two Apostolick Bishops about the Observation of Easter: 'Tis evident likewise from the Original Languages of the Bible, which require much Pains to understand, as well as Honesty to apply them; and St. Peter himself tells us, that in St. Paul's Epistles, Some Things are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own Destruction. And as to Matters of Polity and Discipline, which cou'd not be easily misunderstood in the first Ages of the Church, they are now confessedly much less plain
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from Scripture, as is too evident from the unhappy Divisions about them to this Day.

*Nor is it reasonable to expect that the Gospel should be full and plain in every Particular, not only because such Particulars would swell it to an incredible Bulk, but because it is not fitting in this State of Darkness and Tryal, that Men should have the Intuition of Angels, and see thro' the whole Mystery of Godliness at first sight. It was design'd only for a Touchstone as it were of honest and curable Dispositions, and not to break in upon the Understandings of wicked Men, in spite of their Wills; accordingly, we find * Novatianus interpreting the Word of God one way, Photinus another; Sabellius another; Donatus another; Arrius, Eunomius, Macedonius another; Apollinaris, Priscillianus another; Jovinianus, Pelagius, Celestius another; and in fine, Nestorius another. Not to mention Ludovicus Capellus, and some other Criticks of the new Way, who by their Infinite Emendations (if I may so call 'em) have mended away the very Body of the Sacred Text, and by their new-fangled Interpretations have Expounded away the Sense and Soul of it too into the Bargain.*

Now in this Maze and Labyrinth of Interpreters the Question is, which is the most adviseable Way to take for the true Interpretation of Scripture; for upon this † Hinge it is, that all

* Vincent. Lirin. Cap. 2.

† In hoc Cardine versatur tota Questio de Scripturis; unde vera Scripturæ Interpretatio sit petenda. Whitaker de Scriptu. Qu. 5. Ca. 3.

our Controversies turn. Some Moderns have been of Opinion that the Scripture it self is the Law and the Judge, because the Word of God is said to be || Quick or Lively; but these Expositors must first prove the Bible to be literally Alive, and able to speak for it self, before they can prove it to be a Rule and Interpreter both. Others are for setting up a Human Infalible Judge of Controversie, and if they could but tell us where we might infalibly find him, we shou'd be very thankful for the Discovery; but to tell us there is such a Judge, because they think it better there shou'd be such a one, is in effect to tell us, that we are all born with our Clothes about us, and Houses ready made by our Maker, because they think it better that we shou'd be so provided, than be at the Trouble of providing for ourselves. But our Cubit of Reason, is not to be the Measure of Immense Wisdom; nor is it just to conclude that what we think most convenient to be done, God must think so too. For by this way of arguing 'tis easie to prove Man, Woman, and Child to be Infalible, for it seems most convenient that we shou'd be all Infalible, rather than be at the pains of travelling God knows where, after one that is so, therefore we are all Infalible. Others are for setting the Sun by their own Dyals, for making pure Reason, exclusive of the primitive Fathers, the best Interpreter or Judge of Scripture; But I am apt to believe, what I shall make more fully out anon, that the Sense of a Law is best understood by those who liv'd near-

est the time of making it ; Besides, our present Controversies are mostly concerning Facts, whether such and such Doctrines were taught, and such a Form of Government instituted by the Apostles ; and what can pure Reason do here, without the Testimony of the Fathers, concerning Matters of Fact at such a distance ? And for Scripture, the Sence of that is the Point in Debate, and so not proper to decide the Question. Was the Christian Religion indeed to be mended after it came out of the Hands of Christ and his Apostles, and the Work expressly left to the Reasoners of latter Days, something might be said for our Modern Refiners ; but all the Mending that I know of late, has been only making Holes in the Creed and Constitution of our Church ; and that some free Thinkers by the Help of clear Ideas have made a shift to reason themselves clearly out of all Gospel-Mystery, and the very Canon of Scripture it self.

And lastly, to mention no more, there are some Others who lay Claim to the Spirit for the Interpretation of the Letter, and if the Pretenders cou'd make good their Claim, we shou'd be ruled by the Prophets ; But Experience has taught us, what a wild Interpreter this Pretence to the Spirit has been ; that by setting weak Heads and strong Passions to work upon the Bible, Men have been spirited out of their Sences, and ran about stark Bible-mad. For having their Brains once turn'd by the Teachers to a Fantastick Scheme of Liberty, and their Minds all wound up and continually ply'd with the Notion of the new Jerusalem, where the Lord's People
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were to reign most purely under the Lord's Discipline, to put down all Rule and all Authority and Power, the last Enemy that was to be destroy'd was the Episcopate worse than Death, and when all Things shou'd be thus subdued unto them, then shou'd they be all in all; and have such a precious Church the like was never seen from the Apostles to that Day: While this Vision, I say, was running in their Heads, and their Fancies all up after Mount Sion, whatever they read in Scripture seem'd to Chime in with their imaginary Model; All the gracious Words and mighty Promises they met with, they apply'd to their Party, they were the Godly and Meek ones that were to inherit the Earth; They were the Simple whom God had Chosen to confound the Wise, they were the true Israelites and the Joshuas, Deborahs, Baraks, Gideons, Jephthas, Sampsons, &c. were all Types only of their Leaders, who now were to root out the Idolatrous Nations round about, and to establish the Kingdom of Christ with perfect Liberty. Such are the Vagaries of this foolish Fire, which some call the Spirit; such the dangerous Adventures of forsaking the old to follow new Lights; such likewise is the Absurdity of making Scripture a Rule and Interpreter both, and also of appealing to an infallible Judge, which neither Scripture nor Antiquity say one Word of, nor the Makers themselves know where to find; and lastly such is the Pride and Folly of setting up naked Reason for the soundest Interpreter, exclusive of those antient Helps which Providence has left for our Learning and Instruction in the Christian Faith;

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I come now therefore to what I affirm'd for the safest Method to understand the Holy Scriptures, namely, the general Sence of the Catholick Writers in the purest Ages of the Church; This is the Rule our most Learned and Judicious Reformers went by, what their Constitutions prescribe, and what Reason justifies, as I shall now shew particularly.

*For 1st, Notwithstanding the ingrate and dishonest Practices of some late unchristian Criticks, the Fathers must be allow'd not to have been behind hand in the common Advantages of Men; for their Writings speak 'em to be as great by Nature and Education, of as much Point and Solidity, Penetration and Brightness, and every Humane Way as well adjusted for Defenders of the Faith, as any Reasoners of the hugest Size in these declining Ages of the World. But 2dly, They not only set out with as great a Genius, with as good a Stock of Nature and Art, but they had the start of us by far in many considerable Respects; for we now a days find it a great Impediment in our Course of Divinity, to learn but the Language, Idioms, Rites, Customs, and Discipline of the Apostolick Age, in order to understand the obscurer Passages of the Gospel, all which Advantages they were in a manner born to; so that what is our Day-labour, was their Inheritance. 3dly, They took all the pains imaginable to cultivate these natural Advantages; for laying aside worldly Wisdom, and worldly Adherences, and every Weight, they pressed toward the Mark for the Prize of the High Calling of God in Christ Jesus. Christianity was
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*the Center of their Studies; and the Powers of their Mind, like Rays of the Sun, were all united in this Point, and by this Union they became more shining and burning Lights, than those in the succeeding Ages of Prosperity and Sunshine, who began to think it good for 'em to be here, to set up their Staff on this side Heaven, to lower their Thoughts, and scatter their Affections about the Ends of the Earth; but in bad Weather, in times of Persecucion, they wrapt Religion closer about 'em, they minded nothing else but the Business of their Souls, and the Men of one Business are most likely to understand it best. 4thly, Passion, Party, and Prejudice, are things deadly apt to distort the Eye of the Mind, and contract a squinting Judgement; and if a Freedom from these is a necessary Preparation for Truth, the Fathers I hope may come in for as good a share of this Qualification, as any of their Successors. And 5thly, Before the Christian Faith was made a Part of the Civil Constitution, the Professors of it were extraordinary Sufferers, and consequently stood in need of extraordinary Comforts and Assistances proportionate to their Wants, which they enjoy'd accordingly; For casting out of Devils, curing Diseases, * raising the Dead, and other miraculous Effusions, we find not oftner in the Apostles, than in the Writers of the second Century, and not seldom in the Writers of the third; and therefore a greater Deference is certainly due to those Times of Inspiration, than to these Ages of naked Reason.*

* See the following Preliminary to Justin Martyr.

*But farther yet ; upon any emergent Dispute about the Reading or Sence of the sacred Text, the Primitive * Custom was to have Recourse to the Books of those Countries from whence they receiv'd their Faith and Bibles together ; and there to collate their Copies with the Authenticæ Litteræ, as † Tertullian speaks, that is, with the Originals themselves deposited by the Apostles in the Churches they founded, and withal to enquire into the constant Tenor of Doctrine, and the Traditionary Instructions left there by the Founders. For tho' the Apostolick Writings contain all things necessary to Salvation, yet cannot they be suppos'd to contain the Tithe of what the Apostles said and did ; and considering the Practice of Sects in general, and the Zeal of the first Christian Converts in particular, 'tis not to be imagin'd but those faithful Disciples and Followers of the Apostles drew up several Summaries of their Life and Doctrine, a Journal of such things as they were Eye and Ear Witnesses to, or had receiv'd upon the credible Testimony of such as had been so ; which Summaries, tho' not of equal Authority with the inspired Writings, yet as Authentick as any humane Records, and of singular Use and Advantage to the Faithful of those Times against rising Heresies, and especially in Matters of Discipline and Ceremony, which are the most disputable Points in Scripture. These several Abstracts in process of time were collected into one Body, which together with the Doctrines of*

* See St. Austin against Faustus, lib. 11. c. 2.

† Tertull. præscript. c. 33, 34, 36.

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Apostolical Men, in all probability make up the most Instructive Part of those which bear the Title of Apostolical Constitutions, 'tho the numerous Tromperies, Heresies, and Inconsistences since interlarded, make this Collection as we now have it, stand justly branded for supposititious. Now that which I wou'd infer from hence is this; that these Summaries or Journals in their original Purity, or the Writings of those who had actually attended upon the Apostles, or their immediate Successors who had heard them explain themselves particularly upon several Emergencies, and treasur'd up those Pastoral Instructions, which the Apostles may well be suppos'd to deliver by Word of Mouth, to such as they themselves immediately appointed over the Flock of Christ; these, I say, were such considerable Helps to Christian Knowledge, as no modern Interpreter can lay claim to; and which ought in reason to give the Primitive Writers the very next Place, I think, to the Apostles: And so thought the Great * Cassander, a Person of singular Piety, Learning, and Moderation, who was for making the Church in Constantine's Time the Standard of the Reformation.

But because a General Rule is apt to sit most easie and convincing, when illustrated with particular Examples, I shall put the Matter in this Light, and so leave it upon the Mind of the

* Quia eorum, cuæ literis prodita sunt, Sensus & Intelligentia primis illis Discipulis & Apostolorum Auditoribus, manifestissima & notissima sunt; ut quorum explicationem ab ipsis Apostolis Evangelii Præconibus, acceperunt. Cassand. Defens. lib. de Offic. pii viri in &c.

Reader: *The general Rule then is this, viz. That the Sence and Meaning of any Law or Institution is best understood by the general Practice immediately following thereupon. For instance therefore, I find it said I Cor. II. v. 26. As oft as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death till he come. But now it is not said here, nor in any other place of the new Testament, how oft we are obliged to eat this Bread and drink this Cup; However finding, that the first Christians look'd upon this Commemorative Sacrifice, as that which made way for their Prayers to God, and gave the Perfume and Efficacy to their publick Devotions, and therefore that they never solemnly met to worship God without it; this general Practice, I say, immediately following upon the first Institution of the Sacrament, is to me an excellent Paraphrase upon this Text, and makes it highly reasonable to think, that we are all obliged to embrace every Opportunity of Communicating, and to eat this Bread and drink this Cup as oft as we can, in Conformity to the Primitive Custom.*

Again, 'tis urged that there is no particular express Precept in the Gospel for Infant-Baptism; to which I might answer, that Circumcision made without Hands (which St. Paul calls Baptism) succeeding in the Room of that made with Hands, Infants must be concluded as well qualify'd to be admitted into Covenant with God now by the Spiritual, as before by the Carnal Circumcision; and Circumcision being changed into Baptism without any Change of time, that must continue upon the old Foot without some express

Command to the contrary; and therefore there was no Occasion for any particular express Precept in the Gospel for baptizing Infants. But upon farther Inquiry I find it a constant Usage in the purest Ages of the Church to baptize Infants, and to sign 'em with the Sign of the Cross, and therefore from such a Foundation in Scripture join'd with the general Practice of the Church immediately ensuing upon the Institution, I conclude Infant-Baptism a Point indisputable, and the Ceremony of the Cross to be Apostolical. For had there been any Innovation in this Case, I can hardly think but such scrupulous Persons wou'd have made as great a stir here, as they did about the Observation of Easter. However thus much is certain, that the Primitive Fathers had much better Opportunities of knowing the Apostles Mind for the Practice of Infant-Baptism and the Sign of the Cross, than any of the Moderns can pretend to for laying aside of either.

Thus again it is said, Acts 20. v. 7. That upon the first day of the Week, when the Disciples came together to break Bread, Paul preach'd to them. Now these Words seem fairly to intimate, that the first Day of the Week or the Lord's Day, was set apart or sanctifi'd for Religious Worship; but then finding Justin Martyr who wrote but forty years after the Death of St. John, telling us in the following Apology, That on Sunday all the Christians in City or Country meet together, because that is the Day of our Lord's Resurrection, and then we have read unto us the Writings of the Prophets and Apo-

stles,

files; this done, the President or Bishop makes a Sermon to the Assembly, to exhort them to imitate and do the Things they heard; then we all join in Prayer, and after that we receive the Sacrament, and they that are willing and able give Alms. *Now finding this, I say, related by Justin and the Fathers in general, it clears up the foregoing Text beyond dispute for the Religious Observation of the Lord's Day in the time of the Apostles.*

Thus likewise 'tis said in Scripture, That the Powers that be are ordained of God, That we must needs be subject not only for Wrath but for Conscience sake: For this is thank-worthy, if a Man for Conscience towards God endure Grief suffering wrongfully, for even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffer'd for us, leaving us an Example that we shou'd follow his Steps. Now the Extent and Meaning of these Texts is the Question in Debate; for the Resolution of which, I consider first the Words themselves, and find it evident, that the necessary Subjection here spoken of, is not due to the higher Powers upon the score of Personal Virtue, but because they are ordained of God; and therefore that Resistance by force of Arms purely upon the account of suffering wrongfully, is against the Christian Law: For even hereunto were we called, and are press'd to it from the Example of Christ's suffering wrongfully for us; and because the Suffering which we are not oblig'd by God to undergo, we cannot be said to undergo for Conscience towards God. But for Fear I should be out in my reasoning, I make enquiry into

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*the general Practice of Christendom upon the first issuing forth of this new unwelcome Doctrine to Flesh and Blood; and I find as universal Agreement in the Point of Non-Resistance, as in any one Article of Faith; that the Primitive Christians were always ready to suffer, where they could not obey; that they look'd upon Nero, and the most Inhuman Emperours, as God's Ministers, and therefore subject to God alone, and that it was not for want of * Power, but meerly out of Conscience, that they did not resist. I am sure likewise that Self-Preservation was as much in Force, and natural Rights and Liberties as much natural Rights and Liberties then, as now. But then how far the Nature of absolute and mixt Governments, Abdication, and other Circumstances, may alter the Measures of Obedience, is not my Province to determine: All I think reasonable to infer, is, that such conscientious Sufferers, who seem to have so much Scripture and Antiquity on their side, and who know how to wait with the Primitive Quietness, are in a very pitiable Condition, and ought to have great Allowances made for their Scruples. And for this, I think, I have the Authority of a very considerable Casuist; for my Lord of Sarum has as much Charity with something less Reason, I think, either from Scripture or Antiquity, even for the Quakers; For had Swearing in general been unlawful, God wou'd not have given us the Example of Swearing by himself, nor wou'd Christ have answer'd upon Oath; besides St. Paul fre-*

* See the Preliminary to Tertullian's Apology.

quently calls God to Witness, and the Primitive Christians refused not to swear by the Safety, but the Genius of the Emperor, because they look'd upon the Genii as Demons. However, because 'tis said, Swear not at all, but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, lest ye fall into Condemnation (*which according to the Bishop, can only respect Swearing in common Conversation*) this learned and charitable Person concludes thus, * It must be confessed, that these Words seem to be so exprefs and positive, that great regard is to be had to a Scruple that is founded on an Authority that seems to be so full.

Lastly, Another Controversy which has cruelly canker'd the Minds of Men, and almost eaten out the Heart of Religion, and eats on still as unmercifully as ever, is the Case of Church-Government. Nor are Men to blame for shewing a just Regard for what they believe in Conscience to be of Divine Institution. And yet of all Controversies, this of Ecclesiastical Polity, may in my Opinion, by the help of the Fathers, be as easily decided as any. For a Form of Government being an Object of Sense, tho' Men may differ in their Judgment about the Meaning of Laws, yet cannot they differ so much in their Eye-sight, as to mistake a Monarchy for a Common-Wealth. Church-Government then being an Object of Sense, wherein the Meaning of Scripture is the Point in debate,

* Bp. Burnet's Exposition on the 39th Article.

what fairer way of trying this Cause than by the general Sense and Practice of the Christian Church in and immediately after the Time of the Apostles? Nor can the contending Parties refuse joining Issue upon these Terms. For those who admit the Canon of Scripture upon the Testimony of the Fathers, will find themselves hard put to't for a Reason why they reject the very same Testimony in the Case of Church-Government. For certainly whether Bishops were superior to Presbyters, was a Matter of Fact full as notorious, as whether such and such were the Writings of the Apostles. Nay, I may say more notorious, for the Superiority of Bishops was visible to all, no one Christian could be ignorant of it, and therefore there could be no need of a General Council to define the Form of Church-Government, as there was to settle the Canon of Scripture.

Now the only Argument as yet urged with any shew of Reason from Scripture and Antiquity, for the Parity of Bishop and Presbyter, is this, That both these in Scripture are Terms synonimous, or different Names only for one and the same Order of Men. For Satisfaction herein I consult the most ancient Fathers, and for the first Three hundred Years find not one Christian Writer, who enumerating the Orders of the Church, or the Bishops of his own Time ever uses the words, Bishop and Presbyter promiscuously, or ever thought 'em so used in Scripture. For instance, Ignatius, St. John's Disciple, Bishop of Antioch, and Martyr, mentions the distinct Orders of Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon, no less than sixteen times in seven short Epistles; but for the ease of the Reader, I shall

*set down one noble * Passage only, Be all obedient to your Bishop, as Jesus Christ was to the Father; and to the Presbytery, as to the Apostles. The Deacons also reverence, as the Ordinance of God. Let no one meddle in Church-Affairs without Order from his Bishop. Let that Eucharist be look'd upon as valid, which is administred by the Bishop, or his Licentiate. Where the Bishop shall be present, there let the People be present also; as where Christ Jesus is, there is the Church Catholick. Without the Bishop, 'tis not lawful either to baptize, or celebrate the Love-Feast; but what he shall approve of, that is well-pleasing to God, that so you may proceed upon safe and sure Grounds in all your Actions.*

Justin Martyr, to the best of my Remembrance, never uses the words we translate Bishop and Presbyter, but towards the Conclusion of the following Apology; where his Design is only to describe the Nature of the Eucharist, with the several Duties of those who officiated therein; and because this Sacrament was administer'd sometimes by the Bishop, and sometimes by a deputed Presbyter, he makes use of the general Term πρεσβυς or President; but the Deacons he names

* Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. Τὰς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς θεῷ ἐξουλιῷ. Μηδεὶς χωρεῖς ἢ ἐπισκόπῳ τι πρεσβεύειν ἢ ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐκεῖνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡς εἶπω, ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ ἐπίσκοπον ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ ἀνὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ὅπερ ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔσω, ὡς ὅτε ἂν ἡ Χεὶρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις χωρεῖς ἢ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἢ τε βαπτίζειν, ἢ τε ἀγάπῃ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνὸς ἐκεῖνός τοι δοκιμάσῃ, τὸτο καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ἡ καὶ βέβαιον πάντων ὁ πρεσβεύσῃ. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrnaeos. Sect. 8. p. 6.

particularly, *their Part herein being wholly and solely appropriated to their own Order.* Vid. Bp. Pearl. Vind. Epist. Ignat. Cap. 13. p. 183.

*But Irenæus, Polycarp's Disciple, and cotemporary with Justin, urges a * Succession of Bishops from the Apostles to his Time; and moreover adds, That the Apostles themselves committed the Care of the Churches into their Hands, leaving them to succeed not only in the Place, but to the Jurisdiction of the Apostles.*

† Tertullian challenges the Hereticks to trace up the Pedigree of their Bishops to some Apostle, and to make out their Claim that way; putting the Proof of Apostolical Churches upon a Lineal Succession of Bishops from the Apostles. Now this had been a notable silly Challenge indeed, a Proof scandalously weak and inconclusive, had it not been notoriously evident, that where-ever the Apostles founded Churches, they always appointed Bishops to Preside over 'em. And then, he not only mentions such an Apostolick Race of Bishops in general, but particularly Instances in Polycarp placed over Smyrna by St. John, and in Clemens set over Rome by St. Peter. And moreover adds,

* Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, & Successores eorum usque ad nos, quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant, quos & Successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum Magisterii tradentes. *Lib. 3. c. 3.*

† Evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum (*Hæretici*) ita per Successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis Viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit Auctorem & Antecessorem; hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smyrnorum Ecclesia Polycarpum ab Johanne consecratum refert, sicut Romanorum Clemensem a Petro ordinatum itidem; Perinde utiq; & cætera exhibent quos ab Epistolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici Seminis Traduces habeant. *De Præscrip. Hæret. c. 32.*

that

*that all other Churches are just so Episcopally constituted, and exhibit a Catalogue of Bishops, Descendants of the Apostolick Seed. But for fear of being burthensome with Quotations, and for completer Satisfaction in this Point, I refer to our most learned Bishop *Pearson, who has gone thro' the Fathers of the Second Century, and examin'd them distinctly upon this Head, and the Objections against 'em, and withal has given a particular Answer to the most celebrated Passages in the Gospel urged for the Presbyterian Cause from this supposed Community of Names.*

The Heretick Aerius was the Broacher of this Opinion, ἡ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸν Ἐπίσκοπον, τὸ αὐτὸν Πρεσβύτερον, That Bishop and Presbyter were the very same; an Opinion no sooner publish'd but exploded by Epiphanius, and unheard of till the Fourth Century. True indeed, this Community of Names was taken up again, and strenuously argu'd for (tho' not for the same Purpose with Aerius) by some eminent Writers both of the Greek and Latin Church just upon the brink of the Fifth Century. But then it ought to be consider'd, that the Authorities of this Age are in a manner modern, and that they receive great Abatements not only from their Distance, but the Disagreement among themselves. For Chrysostom and his Followers, who make no doubt but that the Two Orders were distinct both in Office and Dignity under the Apostles, and as such appointed by them, yet allow the Names Bishop and Presbyter to be

* Pearl. Vindic. Epist. S. Ignat. par. 2. c. 13.

reciprocally predicated of both. But Theodoret will have Bishop and Presbyter apply'd indifferently to those of the Second Order only, or whom we call mere Presbyters, concluding those we properly stile Bishops to have went under the Title of Apostles. And Lastly, Jerome agreeing with neither, will have the inferior Priests promiscuously entitl'd Bishops or Presbyters; this Second Order of Priesthood being in his Opinion originally, and for some time the First, and that of the Episcopate an After-addition. Now from this Dissension among the latter Patrons of Titular-Community, 'tis to me pretty evident that the Names Bishop and Presbyter are not promiscuously used in Scripture; for were they so used, I cannot but think it unaccountably strange, that no Apostolical Writer, nay, no Christian Writer at all that I know of, shou'd ever use the same Words with the same Confusion, in imitation of the Apostles. However, granting these younger Interpreters to be in the right, yet will it no more follow from this Confusion of Names, that Bishops and Presbyters are one and the same in Power, than that an Emperor and his General are one and the same in Power, because the Word Imperator is indifferently used for both, as hath been well observ'd of late.*

After all, tho' Chrysostome, and Jerome, and the rest of that Class, are now the Fathers of Figure and most in vogue amongst us, (so venerable are the Minor-Fathers, when they may be thought to serve a Turn) yet the Mischief on't is, that these very boasted Patrons of the Presbyterian Scheme are expressly against it; nor can they with
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*all the Arts of Accommodation be made to conform with it. For every Man of 'em allows that Superiority of Bishops we contend for, and withal asserts this Superiority to have been establish'd by the Apostles, for fear there should be as many Schisms as Congregations; and they all unanimously grant the Power of Ordination to be entirely lodg'd in the Bishop. For * Chrysostome speaking as low and moderate of Episcopacy, as he well cou'd, says, That Ordination is the sole Point wherein Bishops are superior, and in this alone they seem to be above Presbyters. And even Jerome himself in the very place where he rises highest in the Commendation of the Presbyterate, he excepts Ordination as a Work appropriated to the Bishop. And the Origin of the Episcopate in his Opinion stands thus, † Before that by the instinct of the Devil Factions commenc'd in Religion, and the popular Cry was, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, the Churches were governed by a Common Council of Presbyters; but after every one began to lay Claim to those he baptiz'd, as if they were his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed all the World over, that one chosen out of the Presbyters should be set over the rest, whose Office it shou'd be to take the whole Care of the Church,*

* Τῇ γὰρ χειροτονία μόνον ὑπερβέβηκασι, καὶ τῷ μόνον δοκεῖσι πλεονεξεῖν τοῦ Πρεσβυτέρου. *Homil. II. in 1 Epist. ad Tim.*

† Antequam Diaboli instinctu Studia in Religione fierent, & diceretur in Populis, *Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cepha*, Communi Presbyterorum Concilio Ecclesiæ gubernabantur; postquam vero unusquisq; eos quos baptizaverat, suos putavit esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis Ecclesiæ Cura pertineret, & Schismatum Semina tollerentur. *Hieron. in Comment. ad Titum.*

and that so the Seeds of Schism might be destroy'd. *I have set down the Passage at length, because it is look'd upon as the Presbyterian Pillar, and as full of Force as the Trojan Horse, to the utter Ruin of the Episcopate. Now that the Church was govern'd by a Common Council of Presbyters till the Divisions at Corinth, is an Opinion wherein, according to my little Skill in Antiquity, St. Jerome stands single; and upon these Divisions, that a general Decree shou'd be issu'd forth for a new Order of Bishops all the World over, and this Decree taken Notice of by no Writer before Jerome, is somewhat strange. But supposing it true, 'tis from hence evident beyond Contradiction, That in the Time of Paul, Apollos, and Peter, about whom these Schisms arose, the Episcopal Order was establish'd. Besides, this same Author gives us to understand, * That the Apostles ordain'd Presbyters and Bishops thro' every Province. He † affirms likewise, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, to have the same Authority in the Church, as Aaron and his Sons, and the Levites had in the Temple. He gives us also a Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome from St. Peter; and tells us, that James the Just was the first Bishop of Jerusalem; another Catalogue of the Bishops of Antioch from Peter; and in his List of Asia, not only says, that Polycarp was ordain'd Bishop of Smyrna by St. John, but styles*

* Quod fecerunt & Apostoli per singulas Provincias Presbyteros & Episcopos Ordinantes. *Ad Matth. i, cap. 23.*

† Quod Aaron & Filii ejus, atq; Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi Presbyteri & Diaconi vindicant in Ecclesiâ. *Epist. ad Evagr.*

him Totius Asiæ Princeps, Prince of all Asia.

If then the Churches, according to Jerome, were govern'd by a Common Council of Presbyters till the Contentions at Corinth, I ask whether the Apostles had then Authority to fix a superior Order of Bishops all the World over for the Prevention of the like Schisms for the Time to come. If they had, and actually did leave all Christendom under Episcopal Government, then I wou'd know, whether such an universal Apostolical Decree is reversible by any Authority but that which made it? Now to solve this by a Distinction between a Divine and Apostolical Institution, in a Case of such Extent and Importance, is in my Opinion to solve it by a Distinction without a Difference. For did not the Apostles act by that Divine Commission from Christ, As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you? Did they not by Virtue of this Commission ordain Bishops, as well as Presbyters in every Province, according to Jerome? Does not he affirm Bishops thus Apostolically instituted, to be of the same Divine Authority in the Church, as Aaron was in the Temple? Did not the Apostles appoint the Order of Deacons to take care of the Poor? and does not Ignatius call this Apostolick Appointment, in the Passage above cited, the Ordinance of God? And to think that the Apostles shou'd make an Order of Bishops of their own Heads only, and set that Order above Presbyters, which is confessedly a Jure Divino-Order, is in my Opinion to think very indifferently of the Apostles? Why then, the Order of Deacons may continue, now the Poor are provided for by Lay-Over-

Overseers, *and the Order of Bishops may not, now we are overrun with Schisms, I wou'd fain see any other Reason for this, but only that Deacons are below Presbyters, and Bishops above 'em. For if Bishops, who in the Christian Church answer to Aaron in the Temple according to Jerome, may be laid aside by Humane Authority, why not Priests and Levites, or Presbyters and Deacons? And then we may shake Hands with the Author of the Rights, and vote for no Orders in the Church at all. How then our Presbyterian Dissenters can defend themselves under St. Jerome's Shadow, and make the Order Episcopal, one Article for a just Ground of Separation, which their Patron asserts to have been establish'd by the Apostles for the Prevention of Schism all the World over, passes my Understanding; and is a Point they ought seriously to lay to Heart, as they would not be accountable at the Last Day for all the Divisions, Jealousies, and Tempests, which upon this very Score have been rais'd amongst us, and that St. Jerome himself does not rise up in Judgement against them.*

Now put these things together, Church-Government is the Point in Dispute, the Superiority of Bishops we think fairly made out from the very Letter of the Sacred Text, and so thought all the most ancient Fathers; this Primitive Interpretation is farther confirm'd by the Practice of the Apostles, who enthron'd many Bishops with their own Hands; it was never disputed till the Fourth Century, and then by an Heretick, and condemn'd as soon as disputed. The Episcopate was unanimously allow'd to be Apostolical, and above
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the Presbyterate in Dignity and Jurisdiction, by those very Writers, who in Scripture assert them both to go by the same Name. No one Church can be produced where the Episcopal Government did not take Place. No general Council met to appoint it; the Armenian and Persian Churches in the East, those of Spain in the West, of Africa in the South, and of Great Britain in the North, submitted to Bishops without Exception. And the Proof we have for all this, is the universal Testimony of those Writers, upon whose Authority we admit the Canon of Scripture.

Here then I wou'd ask a conscientious Dissenter, whether in his Heart he can believe that the Primitive Saints and Martyrs wou'd invade the Episcopal Power of their own Heads, and in defiance of the Apostles, who were so over Tenacious of the Apostolick Practice in the minutest Matters? Whether they wou'd attempt this without any Worldly Motive, but greater Loads of Care and Affliction, for the Care of all the Churches lay upon them, and the Storm generally fell first and hardest upon the Bishops; and Men do not usually invade upon such Principles; and if they did, whether it was possible for the Invaders to prevail in so short a time over Christendom, and without Opposition, or one word of Complaint from the degraded Presbyters against the usurping Prelates? For Usurpations of this Sacred Kind, we know with a Witness, never come in without remarkable Clamours and Convulsions, are seldom perfectly forgotten, and the Revolution skin'd over without a Scar. That Bishops therefore shou'd obtain where ever the Gospel did,

did, so soon, and with such universal Silence, cannot be accounted for any other way, than that the Gospel and the Episcopate came in upon the same Divine Title.

Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon then were the Three Orders of the Church from the Beginning to the Days of John Calvin, who was a wise and learned Man, but he was a Man, and notably distinguish'd his Frailty upon these two Accounts. For first, as is evident from * himself, and the † Writer of his Life, he thrust himself into the Sacred Function, without being lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And 2dly, without consulting other Churches, without any respect to the Sence and Practice of all Christian Antiquity, he of his own Head drew up a new Scheme of Ecclesiastical Polity, wherein he excludes the Episcopal Order, and lodges the whole Power of the Church in a Minister with Lay-Elders; and taking Advantage of the Fondness and Necessity of the People, and the Absence of the Bishop, made 'em swear as absolutely and unconditionally to his new Scheme, as if every Tittle of it had been dictated from Mount Sinai; tho' by his own Confession but intimated in Scripture, and this Intimation never thought of by any of the Ancients, nor any Strictures of such a Form entertain'd in any Church upon Earth before his own Time. The French Churches, with that of Scotland threw themselves into the Geneva-Model; but we of England with more Modesty, and upon surer

* Calvin, lib. 4. Institut. cap. 34. item. Epist. 190.

† Beza in vita Calvinæ sub init.

Grounds, follow'd the plain Sence of Scripture, authoriz'd by the Interpretations, and the universal Practice of the purest Churches in the purest Ages; and so Reform'd from the Corruptions of Rome, but kept close to the Primitive Doctrine, and Primitive Government; concluding, that we might as well Reform our selves out of the Inferior Orders of Presbyter and Deacon, as that of Bishop. And that if any one of these Apostolick Institutions might be null'd by human Authority, so might the rest, and so we might come to have a new Form of Church-Government every Moon, or if that seem best, none at all. And therefore, tho' I have all imaginable good Will and Charity for the Foreign Churches, who under their Hands have testify'd their Readiness to conform with us, were they in our Place, and plead Necessity for their Difference, yet being no Judge I shall not take upon me to determine how far this Plea now will justifie or excuse them. But this Plea of theirs, undoubtedly, can never reach our Home-Dissenters, who have nothing to object against the Moderation of our present Bishops (as Calvin had against those of Rome) but only that they are Bishops. And therefore I cannot think it either reasonable or lawful, to write our selves out of an Apostolical Institution, confirm'd by the concurring Sence and Practice of all the Fathers, by a Prescription of fifteen hundred Years standing, by the Judgment of our own Reformers and Martyrs, and by our present Establishment; I can never think our selves, I say, oblig'd in Charity to write our selves out of this complicated Authority into a Compliance with such Consciences, as make

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such Bishops *one Article for Schism, which their pretended Patron St. Jerome makes decreed by the Apostles for the Extirpation of the Seeds of Schism all the World over.*

Thus I have endeavour'd to make out the first Thing propos'd, viz. That the most rational and safest Method to understand the holy Scripture, is to consult the general Sence of the Catholick Writers in the purest Ages of the Church. And this I have done by shewing the natural and moral Advantages of the Ancients above the Moderns, for the better understanding of the Minds of the Apostles: And tho' perhaps I might justly have advanced their Authority higher in Matters of pure Reasoning, from the extraordinary Effusions of the Spirit, which were very plentiful in the first Ages, yet I chose chiefly to consider 'em as Witnesses of Fact only; because in this View our finest Reasoners cannot question their Sufficiency, without calling in question at the same time the Genuineness of the Gospel. And to make this Matter yet more intelligible, I have taken for granted what I believe will be hardly contested; namely, That the Sence or Meaning of any Law or Institution is best understood by the general Practice, immediately ensuing thereupon; and this Rule I have illustrated by five Instances, which are not very easily made out from the bare Words of Scripture, but fully clear'd up by the Practice of the Ancients: And I have insisted the longer upon the Instance of Episcopacy, because that Eminence is the Mark of many an ill Eye, and the Ground of the greatest Heart-burnings and Divisions amongst us; and because from the Foundations in the

Gospel, and the Superstructure and Settlement of all Churches after the same Form by the Apostles, and their immediate Successors, we may as demonstrably conclude the Order of Bishops to be of Apostolical, that is, of divine Appointment, as we can conclude any thing from History. And now upon the whole, I think I may with Reason affirm the Primitive Christians to be not only the most faithful Guardians of the Canon, but of the Sence of Scripture also; and therefore when I see some Men playing their whole Artillery against 'em, and running Riot upon the absolute Perfection of Scripture, the better only to run down the Use of the Fathers, and by getting them out of the way to fall foul upon the unguarded Letter, and Murther it to their own purpose, it puts me in mind of the like Practices upon their Sovereign, as upon the Scripture: For just such hollow Panegyricks came whistling from the same Quarter, that a good King wou'd reign most gloriously without his Guards, alone secure in the Hearts and Affections of his People, and when they had importun'd him out of his Forces, how they decided his Person I need not tell. And thus much concerning the Use and Service of the Fathers.

I come now in the second place to answer the most material Objections against them.

The Design of Criticism at first was to rescue injur'd Authors from the Depredations of Time and Moths, or much worse Vermine, to enlighten and beautify their Sence, and restore 'em to their original Perfection. But now 'tis the Art of finding Fault only, or rather of making Wounds for the Reputation of a Cure, and vending Wit at the

*Price of Honesty. And finding Fault being what we are naturally dispos'd to, and Correction an Act of Authority which we all admire; Criticks have multiply'd in great Quantities from this Corruption. Happy the Man, who can but discover a Spot in the Sun, or in some celebrated Writer; how noble the Discovery, and the seeming Blemish to be illustrated above all his other indisputable Beauties? For instance, we ordinary Folks have all this while taken Joseph for a mighty honest upright Man; and for his Religion, the peculiar Care of Providence; and for his Benefactions to Egypt, the Darling of King and People; and afterwards Idoliz'd under the Egyptian Apis. But alas! no such matter, we have been miserably misled by Moses, and quite out in our Mythology; for the * Modern Criticks have found out this same Joseph to have been an arrant Minister of State, a Promoter of arbitrary Principles, and a down-right enslaver of the People, and that his Memory was therefore odious, and consequently the Story of his being worship'd under the Symbol of Serapis, a silly groundless Story. Thus again, from an † iota or one Tittle, to Question whether Jesus Christ was not a Cabalist, sounds little better in my Ears than to question whether he was not a Conjuror; however this is new, and out of the way, and therefore wonderful. In like manner to give broad Hints that after all the Care and Integrity of the Ancients, our*

* See Bagnage's Supplement to Josephus, cap. 19. l. 3. Sect. 12. p. 210.

† Ἰῶτα ἐν ᾧ μία κεφαλαία ἐμὴ παρέλθῃ διὰ τοῦ νόμου. *Matth.* cap. v. v. 18. Bagnage's Supplement to Joseph. l. 3. cap. 21. p. 229.

Bible is not yet as it should be; *to make Sarah and Hagar, which St. Paul really thought to be Types of the Two Covenants, to be the Issue only of St. Paul's Allegorizing Fancy, or which is much the same, borrowed from some vulgar * Midrasch, that is, some Jewish Whimsies. These, I say, are marvellous Discoveries, fresh and sparkling, and such as never enter into the Head of an ordinary Christian. Whether the Learned Mr. Basnage in his Ecclesiastical History, as well as Le Clerc, have not run extravagant Lengths in this way of Criticism, I shall leave to their Readers. But as the best Fruit is most subject to Vermin, so the Fathers have been eminently Pester'd with this sort of Criticks: Every Mote in their Eye, by the Powers of the Critical Magick, thickens into a Beam; and the most pious Objection against the first and faithfullest Servants of Christ is magnify'd to a Demonstration, not only against the Opinions they held, but against their Authority even in Matters of Fact; the chiefest of which Objections I shall now particularly consider.*

The first Objection is taken from the Difficulty of knowing what the true Sence of the ancientest Fathers was, and to make out this, 'tis urged, that most of the Writings for the Three first Centuries are lost, in which 'tis possible we might have met with very different Relations, from what we find in those now Extant.

Now this, to say the best of it, is a very odd way of Arguing, weak in it Self, and worse in its

* Mr. Clerc's Annotations on Galat. cap. 4. v. 21. See more to this purpose in Mr. Basnage's Supplement. cap. 21. l. 3. p. 230, 231.

*Consequences. For the Question before us, is, concerning the True Sense of the Fathers we have, and the Objection is grounded upon a Presumptive one in those we have not; in this case then the lost Writings must be produced to justify this Presumption, or the Objection is pure Dream and Imagination. And if such Surmizes may serve for Proofs, or the loss of some Writings invalidate the rest in Being, Historical Certainty is quite at an End; and if a Man has a mind to gratify himself with Perhaps's and Possibles, he may gainsay any Matter of Fact in History; because, had we all the Histories of those Times, 'tis possible perhaps we might find it to be as he fancies; and the Consequence will be, that the Scriptures themselves are Questionable, because the Testimony of many of the Fathers are wanting, which might have contradicted those we have. Nay, * Calvin † Peter Martyr, || Zanchy, ** Whitaker, and others, make no doubt but some Canonical Scriptures are wanting, from whence ||| Bellarmine argues against the sufficiency of the Canon, which is the very Argument here turn'd against the Authority of the Ancients. But the Answer is short, and will serve for both, viz. That what is left is sufficient, or Providence would have left us more; and what we never had, we have nothing to Answer for; but not to believe upon a Competency, is to be sullen and starve because we have not All,*

* Calvin in Epist. Judæ.

† Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. Class. 1. cap. 6. num. 27.

|| Zanch. in Hoseam sub init.

** Whitak. de Scripturis, Quæst. 3. cap. 3.

||| Bellarm. de verbo Dei lib. 4. cap. 4.

or to deny our Maker, because he has not made us Angels. But this is so weak an Objection that I will pursue it no farther, only I wou'd fain see a good Reason, why we shou'd not conclude, that the Fathers (supposing them honest) which are lost, should rather confirm those in Being, than contradict 'em; for the Catholick Writers which are lost, were once Extant, and Read, and Approv'd, and many Fragments preserv'd by Eusebius and others; and these Fragments discover nothing Heterodox; nor the Collectors of them suspect any such thing, and therefore why should we?

Reason 2. 'Tis difficult knowing the Sence of the Fathers, because that their Writings of the First Centuries treat of Matters very far different from the Controversies now on foot about Religion.

To which I answer, 1st, That 'tis not possible that the whole Race of Controversies from the beginning of the Gospel to the Conclusion of the World, should be all distinctly stated and defin'd by the Primitive Writers; and if Possible, not Reasonable, for by the Application of a General Rule I may distinguish Strait from Crooked, Right from Wrong, without a particular Instruction in all the infinite variety of Curves; and a Physician who has plainly prescrib'd all I am to do for the Recovery of my Health, has no occasion to set down every Particular I am not to do, or all the numberless ways of Destroying my self. 2dly, Most of the Modern Heterodoxies are but new Turn'd, or Refinements upon the Old, and therefore the Answer then will in a great measure serve now. 3dly, As to Transubstantiation, Saint-Worship,

PREFACE, Concerning the

the Infallibility of the Pope, and such like Points, the very silence of the Ancients in these Cases is a loud Argument against 'em. And 4thly, This Reason, if it makes any thing against the Fathers, makes more against the Scriptures: For in the Bible we have no Polemick Discourses, no set Treatises on purpose about the Points now in Dispute, but the Fathers enlarge upon the Sacred Text, improve Hints, set obscure Passages in a fuller Light, give us an Account of many Apostolick Traditions, Rites and Customs, and particularly argue against, and condemn many Heresies, of which the Scriptures say not one word; and therefore the want of an explicit Answer to all Questions which shall arise, holds stronger against the Writings of the Apostles, than those of their Successors. And thus it is the Papists argue against the Perfection of the Scriptures; There are many Controversies now (say they) in Religion, whereof the Scriptures make no mention, such as the number of Canonical Books, of Sacraments, the Form of Trine-Immersion, Rebaptization, the Observation of the Lord's Day, &c. the Scriptures therefore are not a perfect Rule of Controversie, because there is no knowing the Sense of the Apostles in these Cases: Now if the Objectors will not allow of this arguing in the Papists against the Scriptures, why they will urge it against the Writings of the Ancients which handle abundance more Controversies than the Scriptures do, is a Question I wou'd fain see answer'd.

Reason 3. That those Writings which go under the Names of the Ancient Fathers, are not all truly such, but a great part of 'em supposititious

posititious and forged, so that you know not what is Theirs, and what is not.

The Case of spurious Books, and spurious Children, I take to be much the same; and shou'd I argue thus, That those Children which go under the Names of their Reputed Fathers, are not all truly such, but a great part of 'em Bastards, so that there's no knowing which are theirs, and which not: I hope our Fathers wou'd cry out shame on the Argument, or else it wou'd make mad work in the World; and yet the Argument holds equally good both ways, against the Legitimacy of Children, as well as the Genuineness of Books; that is, the Argument is good for nothing, for the Spuriousness of some, ought not to affect the Genuineness of others; and there is no manner of Consequence, that because some false Pieces have been Father'd upon Justin Martyr and Tertullian, therefore these Apologies, which were never Question'd, ought to lye under the same Imputation. So that before we take upon us to Bastardize, we must give particular Reasons for so doing: And he who will not believe a Book, or a Child, to be the lawful Issue of that Man, whose Name it bears, when he has no Reason to suspect the contrary, ought to believe nothing upon less grounds than Demonstration, and never to Eat or Drink till he can Demonstrate the Goodness of the Food; and however this way of Reasoning may suit with his Head, I dare say it will not agree very long with his Stomach,

2dly, *If the Spuriousness of some Pieces may attain the Rest, why do the Objectors make use of the Fathers Occasionally, when they fancy it*
may

may serve their turn? Why do they admit the Canon of Scripture upon the Authority of the Fathers; for to admit their Testimony in one Case, and to reject it in another equally Clear and Universal, is to play Fast and Loose, and act upon no Principles at all.

3dly, *Supposing a Book, not to be that Author's, whose Name it bears, or to be Anonymous, yet if it was manifestly written in the first Ages of the Church, and quoted and approv'd by the Catholick Writers of that or the following Centuries, I see no ground to Object against it, unless we will affirm a good Book, without the Author's Name, to be good for nothing.*

4thly, *There is an End of all Historical Evidence, of all Law, Friendship, and Commerce in the World, if the Suppositiousness of some Writings, the Forgery of some Deeds, the Falshood of some Friends, the Adulterating of some Coin, must affect all the rest. Nay, there is an End of all Gospel, for many spurious Pieces have pass'd under the Name of the Apostles. But now if there be no Rules to distinguish what is Apostolick from what is not, why do we receive the New Testament? If there be, I ask, why these Rules will not serve in the Case of the Fathers, as well as the Apostles? For to say, that Providence has interpos'd to preserve the Divinely-inspired Writings from all sorts of Injury, is what we find to be false in Fact, because there have been spurious Pieces Father'd upon the Apostles, as well as their Successors.*

A Fourth Reason why 'tis so hard coming at the Sence of the Fathers, is, That those Writings

tings of the Fathers which are Legitimate, have been in many Places corrupted by Time, Ignorance, Fraud, &c.

*This Reason differs from the Former, as Clipping does from Coining, and the same Answer might serve for Both; but 'tis made a distinct Article upon which the Objectors flourish with great Indulgence; and the better to amuse the Reader with a fine shew of Learning, give in a very Tragical Declaration of the many Corruptions which from time to time have beset the Ancients. And had they been in the Humour, cou'd have wept over the Holy Scriptures in the same Tone, and told us how sadly they too have suffer'd by Time, by the Ignorance of Transcribers, and by Frauds, both Pious and Malicious, and withal, quoted a most genuine Passage out of Tertullian, to let us know how cruelly the Hereticks mangled the Sacred Text, and that Marcion us'd a Knife instead of a Style, not to Corrupt, but Cut it to his Liking; and so perhaps the various Lecti-
ons in Dr. Mills's late Edition of the New Testament, will in good time be urged by some Criticks against the Authority of the Gospel. But does not
* St. Austin tell Faustus, That if any Dispute arises about various Readings, which are but few in Number, and sufficiently known to the Learned, we have recourse to the Books of those Countreys, from whence we receiv'd our Copies and Religion together, and are willing they shou'd determine the Controversie. Or if there still appear any Difference, the greater number of Copies ought to be preferr'd before the less;*

* *Augustin against Faustus, lib. II. c. 2.*

those which are most Ancient, to those of a later Date, and the Original Languages to all others. Thus do they proceed, who, when they meet with any difficulties in the Holy Scriptures, search and examine things with a desire to be Instructed, and not merely for Dispute and Cavil.

But is it not the common Fate of Books to suffer by frequent Transcriptions? are they not all subject to the Teeth of Time, Moths, and Criticks, unless preserv'd like the Children of Israel's Clothes, by continued Miracle? Why then may not St. Austin's Rule serve us for the Fathers, as well as the Apostles? Why may not the general Design and Sence of an Author be understood, notwithstanding some Corruptions, as easily as we distinguish an Old Acquaintance, tho' something disfigur'd by the Small Pox? Are not these Errata and Frauds, in a great measure, now detected and cured by comparing Manuscripts and other Helps of the Critical Art in learned and honest Hands? Do we build any strange Doctrines upon any suspicious Passage, or any single Father, and not upon their unanimous Consent clearly deduced from many of their Works, and from many Places therein, which were never question'd? Do not the Ancients as they now stand corrected in the best Editions, agree with the Scriptures in Faith, Manners, and Church-Polity? And how came they, after all these Corruptions, thus to Tally with the Gospel in Fundamentals, unless it be Objected also that the Gospel and the Fathers are Corrupted both alike? Before then the Objectors cry down an Author for Spurious, or Corrupted in Whole.

or in Part; let 'em bring forth their strong Reasons for their loud Clamours; let 'em rally their Forces, and try their skill over again upon Ignatius; for while that Martyr's Epistles are suffer'd to pass for Genuine, there lies an insuperable Bar in the way of some Men; and that they are Genuine, our Excellent Bishop Pearson has, I think, demonstrated, to the eternal Shame of the Dallæans and all their Adherents.

A Fifth Reason is, That the Stile of the Fathers is so incumbered with Figures and Rhetorical Flourishes, &c. that there is hardly any knowing what they wou'd be at.

*This is much easier said than prov'd; and were it necessary to set out the Primitive Writers in their Native proper Colours, I cou'd with half the pains their Adversaries have taken to Disfigure 'em, shew as noble Plainness, as manly Reasoning, as moving Metaphors, and just Flights in them, as in any of the Moderns, enough I am sure to deserve better of us for their Writings, (if not for their Lives) according to Horace's Rule of Criticism, Ubi plura nitent, non ego paucis offendar maculis. But Tropes and Figures we are not concern'd about, but only whether the Fathers have express'd themselves intelligibly in Matters of Fact. A Certain * Author has furnish'd us with One and Fifty Reasons for the Obscurity of the Scriptures; but be these Reasons as they will, I think I may truly say, That the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles abound with Tropes and Metaphors, Types and Allego-*

* Flacc. Illyric. de Ratio. Cognosc. Sacr. Literas, cap. 1.

ries, Parables and dark Speeches, and are as much, nay much more unintelligible in many places, than the Writings of the Ancients; and yet these in a great measure are now brought to Light by the Diligence of Learned Men. But supposing they were not, how do these Figurative Expressions affect the plain Historical part of the Bible? For instance, cannot I know, That in the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; That this Word or Logos took upon him Human Nature in the Womb of a Virgin, did many Miracles, was at length Crucified Dead and Buried, and Rose again the Third Day, and sometime after ascended into Heaven; cannot I understand these Relations of Fact, because there are some other things hard to be understood in St. Paul's Epistles, and harder yet in the Revelations? All therefore that can be argu'd from hence against the Fathers with any shew of Reason, is, that such dazzling Figures may sometimes render their Opinions less distinct and certain, but how they can weaken their Testimony in Matters of Fact, is what I want to know. For supposing them now and then in the Clouds, and soaring out of sight in Metaphor and Allusion; yet when they descend in view again, and tell us plainly, that the Order of Bishops was of Divine Apostolick Institution; and give us a Catalogue of succeeding Bishops, from the Apostles to their own Time, and withal tell us, That such and such were the genuine Writings of the Apostles; why is not their Testimony as Intelligible in one Case, as in the other? For I take it to be full as easie to distinguish naked Truth, or a simple Relation of Fact

Fact from Oratory and Flourish, as to tell whether a Man be Dress'd or Undress'd. After all, if this Objection be of any Force, why don't the Objectors except against these Figurative Hyperbolical Fathers for every Thing, even for the Canon of Scripture? Why don't they suspect some Dangerous Trope, some Snake under every Flower? If they say, that they quote them only when they speak distinctly, simply, and without a Metaphor, let them prove that we do otherwise, or else I am sure we are in no wise concern'd in this Objection.

Reason 6. That the Fathers oftentimes conceal their own private Opinions, and speak those Things which themselves believ'd not, &c.

To Charge the Holy Martyrs and Confessors of Old with the Latitude of a Jesuit, with shuffling and lying for the Truth, when in their Apologies they enter so many Protests against it, and scorn to be excus'd from Torments and Death by any Arts of Insincerity and Equivocation; this is so foul an Article, that nothing less than Demonstration can justify a suspicion. But let us see how they make good the Charge. Why in the first Place we are given to understand from some passages out of St. Jerome, for their Length only considerable, That in his Commentaries upon the Scriptures, There is a Rhapsody of different Opinions tumbled together in a heap, without so much as intimating either which is Good or Bad, or probable, or necessary, or to the Purpose or not. Now this is False in Fact, and the false Accuser of his Brethren cou'd not but know it, for he has play'd the slippery Part here himself, which he charges

*charges upon the Fathers, leaving out a passage which puts quite another Face upon the Matter. For * St. Jerom tells us, that it was the way in Commentaries to lay down the Opinions of others as well as their own, but withal, openly to declare which were Heretical, and which Catholick. But is not this too the way of Commenting now a days; and why is it more Trick-ing in the Ancients, than the Moderns?*

2dly, If there is no way of distinguishing St. Jerome's Opinion from what is not, why do his Accusers, upon occasion, deal so much with this slippery Saint? Why do they depend so mightily upon his Opinion, and not suspect they are in the Hands of a Heretick, when they are magnifying the Father?

But 3dly, Supposing such a Rhapsody of Indiscriminate Opinions in the Ancient Comments, What's all this to those who are not Commentators? What are Opinions and Notions to Testimonies concerning Fact? Can there be a wilder Inference, than because Jerome and others, in their Expositions upon Scripture, have amass'd together many Opinions besides their own; therefore Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Minucius Felix, in these Apologies, concerning the Faith and Manners of the Christians in their Time, have not written their own Minds, but the Opinions of other People?

* Mos in Commentariis, & illis, & aliis nostram & aliorum Sententiam explicare, Aperte consentientes quæ Hæretica, quæ Catholica. Hieronym. adversus Ruffin. lib. 3. cap. 3.

But this is not all ; for the Fathers are tax'd with Insincerity and Reserve where one wou'd be apt least of all to suspect it : These Holy Men, we are told, were as arrant Jugglers even in the Pulpit, as in their Commentaries ; for in Expounding the Scriptures to the People where the Catechumens were present, if they chanc'd to fall upon a passage touching the Sacraments, they wou'd make bold to wrest the Text, the better to disguise these Mysteries, laying before them that which they accounted not the best and truest, but what they thought best serv'd to the purpose of Amusement ; just as we please little Children with an Apple, or some Toy, to take off the desire they have to something of greater Value. The Truth of the Matter, as we have it from St. Justin, towards the Conclusion of the following Apology, in short, was only this. The Catechumens were kept under strict Discipline for some time, before they were admitted to the Privileges of the Faithful, both for their better Instruction in the Christian Principles, and for a Tryal of their Sincerity ; and were the Prophane or Uninitiated ever rashly admitted to the Pagan Mysteries without any Preparatory or Purgation ? Does not our Master tell his Apostles, He had many things to say unto them, but they cou'd not bear them now ? Do not the Apostles say that Milk is for Babes, and strong Meat for them of full Age ? And is not this now a very notable Instance of the Dissimulation and Tricking of the Fathers, that they took so much care about the Qualifications of the new Converts, in Catechizing and Instructing them according to their Capacity, in feeding 'em

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with Milk, and not letting 'em all at once into the most Sacred Mysteries, as if nothing of Reverence, Knowledge, and Probation, was requir'd to the Profession and Privileges of a Christian.

*But to blacken 'em a little more still under this Head, 'tis farther urged, That the Fathers, in disputing with the Adversaries of their Faith, thought it lawful to say or conceal, or reject any thing for the Advancement of their Cause, tho' otherwise true and allowable; This, I believe, is what Julian the Apostate wou'd have hardly charg'd upon the Christians; for never did Men keep up more strictly to the Apostle's Rule, of Abstaining from all appearance of Evil, than the Ancients did; but this is doing the grossest Evil, that Good may come of it. And what is stranger yet, this Lye is father'd upon their pretended Patron St. Jerom, and justify'd by his Authority alone, from a mighty long * Quotation, which to me proves nothing in the World, but only that the Art of Disputing is like that of Fencing, where we threaten one Part to hit another; and moreover, that they often argu'd from the Concessions of an Adversary, which are a good Argument, ad hominem, whether the Concessions be true or false. But all this is so palpable a Slander, that I will not give it an Answer; these Apologies are a Demonstration against it; only one cannot but observe, how some Men, to serve a Cause, will stick at nothing, but write thro' Thick and Thin, and Bespatter Martyrs and Confessors with Lying for the Truth, who dyed in the open*

* Hier. Epist. 50 ad Pammach.

Defence of it, when they cou'd have sav'd their Lives for a Word speaking, as you will see hereafter.

Reason 7. That the Fathers have not always held one and the same Belief, but have sometimes chang'd some of their Opinions, according as their Judgment hath grown riper thro' Study or Age.

Reasons surely are very scarce things, where this is press'd to serve for one; the Reader need only see the Argument naked to see its weakness, and thus it stands in Form. Those Men, who upon maturer Deliberation, have sometimes chang'd some of their Opinions, and consequently as they improv'd in Years and Study, might change some others, are not to be Credited; but the Fathers have so chang'd, &c. therefore the Fathers are not to be Credited. According to this way of Arguing, I say, then, excepting the Bible, there is not a creditable Book in the World; for there never was a Writer, but some time or other, I believe, chang'd his Opinion in some Points. Angels then or Inspired Persons ought only to write Books, because nothing less than Infallibility ought to be a Motive for Belief. The Objector needed not to have given himself the trouble of fouling so many Pages with the Errors of the Ancients, for we own 'em to be Men, and consequently as subject to Mistake as Death; but the Point to be prov'd, was, that Learned and Honest Men who mistake in one case, are not fit to be Believ'd in another; that because St. Austin retracted many things, therefore he is to be credited in nothing; that because Daille wrote a Treatise of the Right Use of the Fathers,

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*which in his Riper Judgment he * seems to have Retracted, or however might have done, had he liv'd and studied longer; therefore nothing Daillè says is to be minded. If this Consequence be just, then we ought never to Read or Write, or Preach or Believe any thing, but the exprefs Word of God.*

But 2dly, 'Tis here ambiguously said, That the Fathers have not always held one and the same Belief; the Form of Sound Words, or Creed, I hope they always held; the Divinity of Christ, the Necessity of Church-Communion, &c. Now if the Fathers were Unanimous in these and other Opinions; if they liv'd to a full Ripeness of Understanding, and never Recanted to their dying day, is it not Reasonable to conclude, that they wou'd not have Recanted had they liv'd longer?

3dly, Supposing some of 'em not at Tears of Discretion, or Ripeness of Judgment, this can only affect their Reasonings, for I hope a Man may hear and see as well at Thirty as Threescore; he can tell whether such and such Writings were deliver'd to him for Sacred Scripture; whether Presbyters Ordain'd, and held separate Meetings in desyance of their Bishop; whether the Cross in Baptism, the Adoration of the Sacramental Elements, Image-Worship, and the like, whether these, I say, were the Practice of the Church in his Time or not, any one in his Senses might tell without any great Perfection of Judgment; or do Men use to Retract their Testimonies about Matters of Fact, if they live to see and hear longer?

* Daillè, Noveauté des Traditions Romaines.

But I am perfectly asham'd of this Reason, for it proves only that nothing is too absurd for some Men to question, even the Whiteness of Snow, or the Reality of Motion, when the Sceptical Fit is upon 'em. And shou'd the Supreme Power proceed against the Subject upon the same Surmises, as these Objectors do against the Ancients, they might hang every Man in the Kingdom for Murder; for 'tis a difficult piece of Business to prove a Negative, to demonstrate a Man not to be a Murderer, and all Men are subject to Sin, and 'tis possible, had they liv'd longer to consider on't, they might all have publish'd their Repentance under their own hands.

Reason 8. That it is Necessary, and withal very hard to discover how the Fathers held all their Opinions, whether as Necessary, or Probable only, and in what degree of Necessity or Probability.

To make this Reason look the bigger, there is premis'd a long Account of the Nature of Necessary and Contingent Propositions, for the Illustration of which, we are bid to compare these two, Christ is God; and Christ suffer'd Death, being of the Age of thirty four or thirty five Years. The former of these is Necessary, because Christ cou'd not but be God; the latter is Contingent, because if he had so pleas'd, he might have suffer'd at the fortieth or fiftieth Year of his Age. Of these two Propositions 'tis affirm'd, that the first we cannot deny without renouncing Christianity, but the second, tho' true and clearly enough Collected from the Scriptures, we may deny without any great danger, as supposing it false.

But, with the Objector's good leave, I take this for a very bold Assertion; for admitting that Christ is God, and that he suffer'd at such an Age, to be Propositions equally clear, and express in Scripture, I think we are equally oblig'd to believe both alike, not indeed as equally necessary, but as True; because 'tis the Word of God which speaks in both Cases; and be the Matter Great or Small, Necessary or Contingent, we cannot gainsay Divine Revelation, without great Danger. But to our purpose, by virtue of this Division into Necessary and Contingent, we are told how perplex'd a business it is to know the Sence of the Fathers, because 'tis necessary we shou'd know, not only whether they believ'd such things or not, but also how they believ'd or not believ'd them; that is to say, whether they held them as Propositions Necessarily or Probably, either True or False; and besides, in what degree either of Necessity or Probability they placed them. Now all this to me, tho' it may be very Logical, seems very impertinent. For when our Saviour said, Ye believe in God, believe also in me, and Do ye now believe? Does he prescribe the Degrees, or weigh out the just quantity of Faith they were to believe him with? Thus again, when he puts the question to the Blind Man, Dost thou believe on the Son of God? the Answer is, Lord I believe. Here are no Logical Questions and Answers, how and in what manner he believ'd; whether he held this Proposition as necessary or Probable, and in what degree of Necessity or Probability he held it; the Question was Simple, Dost thou believe? and the

the Simple Answer, I believe, was sufficient. When the Fathers therefore tell us, that such were the Writings of the Apostles, the Doctrine, Rites, Customs, and Polity of the Church in their Time, don't we know how to understand 'em, because we don't know how they held some Opinions, whether as Necessary or Probable, &c? For hold 'em how they will, an Error in Opinion can never prejudice a Testimony concerning Fact. Besides, with what Zeal and Labour did the Ancients guard against Jews, Heathens, and Hereticks? with what Care and Caution did they instruct the Converts in all the Requisites to Salvation? How do they condemn all Innovations in Doctrine and Government, not only occasionally in their Writings, but in set Treatises against 'em? What a Bulk and Figure do Provincial and General Councils make in Ecclesiastical History? How full and particular their Explanations of the Creed? How frequent their Anathema's to the Unbeliever and Disobedient? How little do they insist upon their own private Opinions, for instance, to name but one, does not Justin Martyr tell Trypho concerning the Millenary Notion, that many good Christians, in this point, were of his Mind, and many not, without any Reflection upon the Dissenting Party? And now after all this, to object against the Fathers for not letting us know how they held their Opinions, is very Disingenuous, not to say Dishonest; and this Objection, I am afraid, falls heavier upon the Apostles than their Successors, who surely are more large and explicit in their Expositions of the Christian Religion, and in the Condemnation of Heresies, than

the Apostles were, as strange Doctrines encreas'd in every Age. However, thus much is certain, Stated, and Definitive, that the Universal Church Anathematiz'd those who did not professedly believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, as they did; and those also, who held not this Unity of Faith in the Bond of Peace, nor Conform'd in Matters of a lower Order, or attempted any thing relating to the Church, without leave from their Bishop.

Reason 9. We ought to know what hath been the Opinion, not of one or more of the Fathers, but of the whole Ancient Church, which is a very hard Matter to be found out.

Now this and the other two following Reasons are much the same, and therefore one Answer may serve for all. First then, 'tis so far from being a very hard Matter, that to a willing Mind 'tis wondrous easie to find out what hath been the Opinion, not of one or more of the Fathers, but of the whole Ancient Church, in all Points necessary to Salvation; and what are not so, are not necessary to be known. Moreover, 'tis allow'd that Justin Martyr and others cou'd not be Ignorant what was the Publick Doctrine of the Church, and that they heartily and constantly embrac'd it: But the mischief of it is, That they took the liberty to treat of Matters not determin'd by general Councils, or deliver'd in any of the Creeds, &c. This, no doubt, was scurvily done of the Fathers, that they shou'd offer to give us their Sence of Scripture, of Apostolick Rites and Customs, and Confute and Condemn Heresies, or Treat of any thing not within the ex-
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press Determination of the whole Ancient Church. But why might not they take the Liberty which every Modern Commentator takes now adays? Does Daillè keep within the bounds he prescribes the Ancients; and in his Abuse of the Fathers and other Writings, deliver nothing save what the Church has clearly deliver'd its Judgment upon? Well, but what must those do who chanc'd to live before General Councils were to be had? Why, e'en nothing that I know of, but Read the Sacred Text, and Religiously abstain from all Commenting, or delivering any Opinions, but what are contain'd in express Words of Scripture; and consequently it was mighty ill done of that Disciple of St. John, the Bishop and Martyr Ignatius to write his Epistles, and among other Speculations to deliver it as his Opinion, That the Laity were to be Obedient to their Bishop, as Christ Jesus was to the Father; and to the Presbytery as to the Apostles; and to Reverence the Deacons, as the Ordinance of God, before he was sure of this nice Point from the Resolution of the whole Ancient Church, all which was little enough to make the distastful Notion Rellish. However thus much is certain, That the Interpretations and Testimonies of the earliest Fathers (many of which are now lost) were the great Helps and Authorities which Posterity in Councils proceeded on in Condemning Heresies, Establishing Creeds, and settling the Canon of Scripture.

But 2dly, To put the difficulty of knowing the Sence of the Church Universal in the saddest Colours, we are told that Particular Churches have had great Differences in Opinions and Customs,
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and therefore 'tis a very disputable Point, which of the differing Churches were in the Right; *I grant it, and say again, that if the Difference be not about Fundamentals, we may be securely Ignorant.* Does the Church of England build any more upon these disputable Opinions than her Adversaries? Or does their Difference in some Things affect their Credibility in All? What if they did disagree about the Observation of Easter, a business confessedly of no great Importance, and wherein, as I have shewn, both Parties might be in the right, as to the Apostolick Practice, are we not therefore to believe 'em about Episcopacy, wherein they are all Unanimous? *I grant again, that the Fast of Lent was differently observ'd in divers Churches, and say with our own Article, That it is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; and that every particular or national Church hath Authority to Ordain, change and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church Ordain'd only by Mens Authority, so that all things be done to edifying.*

Lastly, to advance one Step higher, we are told that 'tis not only Difficult, but Impossible to know exactly what the Belief of the Ancient Church, either Universal or Particular, hath been touching any of those Points now in Controversy among us.

For to know this, according to his Definition of a Church, we must know, it seems, either the Opinion of every Individual Member of that Church, or of its Representatives, that is to say, the Clergy. Now to know the Belief of the Church

Church in the first Sence, he with great variety of Harangue has shewn to be impossible, and therefore say I needless; just as needless, as to visit every Hospital, and to consult the Politicks of every Member in Bedlam, in order to know exactly the Strength and Wisdom of the Nation. And our Cenfor, after he has eas'd himself of his Wit for some Pages, confesses as much, viz. That it is not necessary that we shou'd know the Opinions, in Points of Religion, of all particular Persons, which are almost Infinite in Number, and for the most part very ill grounded and uncertain; but that it is sufficient if we know what the Belief hath been of the Pastors, that is to say, of the Church, taken in the latter sence. Now, as in the former Case, he was forc'd to be a little severe upon the People, for the good of his Argument, so here again to ingratiate, he makes 'em full amends, and according to Method, Whips the Clergy upon the Back of the People; For it cannot be deny'd (says he) but that both Ignorance and Malice have oftentimes as great a share here, proportionably, as they have among the very People it self; and that there are sometimes found, even among the plain ordinary sort of Christians in a Church, those that are more considerable both for their Learning and Piety, than the Pastors themselves. And here he runs the same Lengths again to prove the Pastors more divided in their Opinions than the People, and makes it a Wonder, if where four Clergy Men, of the more Learned and Politer sort were met together, two of 'em shou'd not, upon some Point or other of the Faith, differ in

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Judgment from the main Body of their Church. *But now this great Master of Controversy himself shou'd have told us, whether the Belief of such Opinions is necessary; and if it is, which way we are to take in this diversity of Disputes, where neither Priest nor People is to be trusted; but if we may safely suspend our Faith amidst these Differences, why all this Pother about 'em to no purpose? I wou'd ask likewise this Persecutor of the Ancients, whether he thinks there were any among the plain ordinary sort of Christians in the Churches of Antioch or Smyrna, more considerable, both for their Learning and Piety, than Ignatius or Polycarp? Whether those set over the Flock of Christ by his Apostles, who had the gift of Discerning Spirits for this very purpose, were sufficiently qualify'd for the Cure of Souls; and whether they did faithfully discharge that Office; and if so, whether the same Faith and Practice will not carry us as securely to Heaven, as our Forefathers; and whether all necessary Points were not yet more fully Treated, Stated, and Defin'd by succeeding Writers and Councils, and the Primitive Pens continually drawn against every Invasion of the Faith? And what now wou'd our Modern Waspsish Criticks have? Wou'd they have more of the Fathers, than to give an account of the Doctrine, Manners, Rites, and Customes of the Church in their Time, and of what they learn'd from credible Traditions, and other Authentick Records and Writings then Extant? Why yes truly, they wou'd have more; they wou'd have 'em, it seems, have written set Tracts against the Pope's Supremacy, Transubstantiation, &c. that is, of*
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Controversies, many Hundred Years before they had a Being; for touching any of the Questions now on Foot, the Fathers are silent, and therefore of no Use; and yet when these Gentlemen are in the vein of Writing against the Corruptions of Rome, then this very silence is judg'd a good negative Argument against 'em; and 'tis urg'd, and justly too, that no Article ought now to be impos'd as Necessary, which was unheard of in the purest Times of Christianity.

After all, this Reason can affect Notions only and Opinions, and not Testimonies about Fact, which are the main Things we depend upon the Fathers for; for when Justin Martyr tells me upon his own Knowledge, That the Christians in his Time met altogether upon Sunday, and had Common Prayer, and Lessons out of the Scriptures, after which, the President made a Sermon, and administer'd the Eucharist in both Kinds to the People, and mingled the Wine with Water, &c. I may take the Martyr's Word for this, I hope, without turning over every individual Writer of that Age. Or suppose the Fathers which are extant tell me, such were the Writings of the Apostles; is it reasonable to reject their Testimony? because, forsooth, 'tis possible that others might have held the contrary, tho' they did not write in defence of it; or because, perhaps, they might have written in defence of it, and their Books have been since lost; for how small is the number of those in the Church who had the Ability, or at least the Will to Write? And how much smaller is the number of those whose Writings have been able to secure them-

selves

selves either against the Injury of Time, or the Malice of Men? *And where shall we ever fix, if such Imaginations may pass for Arguments?*

These are all the Reasons under the first General; and a Man must be in mighty want of Reasons, to call in the lame and the blind at this rate to his Assistance; for a greater Wast of good Words, with less Argument, is hardly to be met with than in this concluding Chapter.

The second general Objection is, That the Fathers are not of sufficient Authority for the deciding of our Controversies in Religion. *And the first particular Reason for this, is, That the Testimonies given by the Fathers touching the Belief of the Church, are not always True and Certain.*

Now not to disturb the Critick in his Dream, in his imaginary Triumphs upon the last Engagement, let us take a view of his New-raisd Forces; and the Ground his first Reason is bottom'd upon, is this; That Matter of Fact being of a more Compounded, and consequently more Perplex'd Nature than Matter of Right, the Fathers possibly may have erred, in giving us an account hereof; and that therefore their Testimonies in such cases ought not to be receiv'd by us as infallibly true; neither yet may we be thought hereby to accuse the Fathers of Falshood; for how often do the honestest Persons that are, innocently Testifie such Things as they thought they had seen, which it afterwards appeareth that they saw not at all; for Goodness renders not Men Infallible. Now for my part, I have been always so silly, as to think a Matter of Sence, of Sight especially;

*cially, no such Perplexed Matter; and to see a King de Facto full as easie, as to know a King de Jure. If Goodness then will not render Men infallible, I hope it may render 'em credible Witnesses of Fact, or else why do we receive the Canon of Scripture upon Testimony? or where shall we find a Credible Witness upon Earth, if to be so, he must needs be Infallible? The Point then here to have been labour'd, had been to have prov'd the Fathers all out of their Senses, or rather not to have been Men, but * Drills, Weweena's, Cuchepey's, or Coufheda's; and then their business had been done effectually all at once, and their Testimony quite destroy'd, as being not Human. And this, by the help of the Modern Philosophy, had been no hard matter; for it had been only supposing the Eyes and the Ears of these Fathers to have been a little out of the Shape, and the Fashion of Modern Eyes and Ears, and then to be sure they had been all Drills; and this had been but a very reasonable Supposition, since none of them, it seems, cou'd see and hear well enough to be believ'd. The Instances produced to invalidate the Testimony of the Ancients, are some Philosophical disputes about the Creation or Tradition of Humane Souls, the Corporeity of Angels, and such like Speculations, to which it will be time enough to return an Answer, when either of 'em are prov'd to have been the stated Doctrines of the Church.*

Reason 2. The Fathers themselves Testifie against themselves, that they are not to be be-

* Bishop of Worcester's Answer to Mr. Lock's Letter. p. 120.

liev'd absolutely, and upon their own bare Word in what they deliver in matters of Religion.

Well, and were not the Fathers very honest Folks for thus Testifying against themselves? In this I hope their Testimony may be taken, and that they may pass for Credible, tho' they confess themselves Fallible. But notwithstanding this Fallibility, do they any where declare that they are not to be believ'd upon their own bare Word, in what they deliver about Matter of Fact? As for making their Notions Canonical, and as Absolutely Conclusive as Sacred Scripture; let those who do it, answer for it. But for us, we look upon the Divinely-inspired Writings only, as binding in themselves; and upon the Fathers, as much better qualify'd for the Interpretation of the Scriptures, than the Moderns; who, tho' in truth such Pigmies, are yet so Tall in Imagination, as to fancy they can take a nicer view of the Sacred Text meerly upon their own Legs, than upon the Shoulders of the Ancients. In all this Chapter, therefore, the Author is Fighting only with Giants of his own making, where he is Amassing together numerous Quotations, Heaps upon Heaps, only to prove that the Opinions of the Fathers are no farther binding, than as they are Consonant either to Scripture or Reason; and consequently, that they ought to be examin'd by the one and the other, as proceeding from Persons that are not Infallible, but possibly may have erred. For which Reason he expresses his Displeasure against the Course which is at this Day observ'd in the World for the Discovery of Divine Truth; for we are now in Doubt, suppose, what the Sense
and

and Meaning of such a piece of Scripture is; here (*says he*) shall you presently have the Judgment of a Father brought upon the said Place, quite contrary to the Rule St. *Austin* giveth us, who wou'd have us examin the Fathers by the Scriptures, and not the Scriptures by the Fathers. Now *this Method of coming at the Sence of Scripture, which he is so much disgusted at, seems to me the Best of Methods; what St. Austin himself took, and what he advises: For this Father was not so much a Child, as to advise Men to Search the Scriptures for the Sence of the Fathers, but to search them in order to see whether the Doctrine of the Fathers was not agreeable to that of the Apostles. And therefore all this Outcry against appealing from God to Man, from Scripture to the Ancients, is meer Paralogism; for the appeal is only to the best Human Judges, about the meaning of the Word of God.*

Reason 3. It appeareth plainly by their Manner of Writing, that the Fathers never intended that their Writings shou'd be our Judges in Matters of Religion.

This is chiefly groundd upon St. Jerome's saying, That he had allotted himself but three days for the Translating of the three Books of Solomon, viz. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; and that he never did any thing almost but in hast, and at full speed; and whoever heard a Judge excuse himself by reason of the shortness of Time, &c. From St. Jerom's writing so frequently in hast, all I can conclude, is, that he wrote with less Accuracy and Imbellishment, than otherwise he wou'd have done; but the Question is not about Delicacy of
e *Expression*

Expression, but Truth; and if St. Jerom was an honest Man, (as I hope his greatest Admirers will not deny) he wou'd certainly take care, tho' in hast, to write truly, if not finely, or else not to write at all. 2dly, Supposing St. Jerome did write in hast, what is this to those Saints who never offer to excuse themselves upon the same Topick? But they do not deliver themselves with the Air and Authority of a Judge, and therefore perhaps their Writings are not to be look'd on as Definitive. But are not Embassadors to produce their Credentials, and Judges their Commission, before they act in the Quality of either? Christ and his Apostles first justify their Mission by Miracles, and then Teach as having Authority; and tho' they did not argue with Swords and Staves, and burn Men to make 'em Believers, yet when they had profess'd the Faith, the Professors were punish'd for Disobedience, and Ananias and Saphira had not suffer'd, had they made no Pretensions to Christianity.

Thus, in these Apologies, we find a Summary of the Christian Faith, and a Challenge to justify it by Miracle; That if they did not cast out Evil Spirits in the Name of their Master, and make those very Spirits proclaim themselves Devils in the presence of the whole Senate who worship'd 'em for Gods, they were willing to be proceeded against as Cheats with the utmost Severity. And was not this Miracle the same Proof of Divine Authority in them, as in the Apostles? They laugh indeed at Compulsion upon the Understanding, but yet are for Correcting an unruly Will, and for Reducing Offenders to a better Mind and Sence of their Offences, by a severe course of Discipline and Penance;

Penance; and therefore, tho' they argue only with the Heathen from Reason, Scripture, and Miracle, yet when Converted, they Exhort and Rebuke, Catechise, Admit, and Eject 'em with the Authority of Spiritual Judges; and nothing was done in the Primitive Church without the Bishop's Order. Did not the first General Councils deliver themselves with the Air and Authority of Judges? Or did they draw up their Creeds and Canons in haste, and exhibit 'em only as probable Propositions, and no farther binding than as they seem'd Reasonable to the People? or did they not affix their Anathema's, and urge the Belief of 'em under pain of Damnation? And therefore to say, that the Fathers did not write as Judges, because they did not write themselves Infallible; and to Rake up every seeming Error to shew their Infirmary, is in effect to say nothing, but only, that to be Judges, Men must be Infallible. If this Author means (as he seems to do) That the Writings of the Fathers are not of equal Authority with those of the Apostles, he argues against no Body; for had our Reformers been of this Opinion, we had had 'em all Translated into English, and read in our Churches upon the same Foot with the Bible; for every Divinely-inspired Writing is of the same Authority.

The Fourth and Fifth Reasons are; That many of the Fathers have erred in divers Points of Religion: And moreover, strongly Contradicted one another, and maintain'd different Opinions, in matters of very great Importance.

These two Reasons might have been put together, but for the more Diversion with these Holy Men, they are divided, and fill up two long Chap-

*ters. However, he puts on the Face of a Mourner, and with an Air of Pity and Compassion calls the World to Witness, how much it goes to his Heart to rip up the Errors of these Learned and Pious Souls, but that Truth and Justice ought to prevail above all other Considerations; and then asking their Pardon, the Critick proceeds to Execution, and gives 'em his Blow of Grace. But in truth, the poor Man had been undone, but for some mistakes of the Fathers, for finding fault is his Meat and Drink; and how much he loves to feed upon Corruptions of the best Kind, we may see by the following Mefs. For here we have a Dish of all their several Errors in Grammar, History, Philosophy, Chronology, Geography, Astronomy, and what not? some of which, perhaps may be Errors, some are in dispute at this day, but most of 'em clear'd up and vindicated by Criticks of another sort. But alas! may not a Man be Orthodox, without being an Astronomer, or a good Christian, without being a good Musician? Or is there any Consequence in this: The Fathers have erred in Grammar, therefore they have erred in Faith. Had this Gentleman, in one of his Critical Fits, thought good to let fly against the Divinely-inspired Writings, he cou'd have made as Merry with Moses, as he has done with the Fathers, for calling the Moon one of the * Great Lights; and for telling us of Waters above the Firmament, and of the Windows of Heaven; he cou'd have expos'd Joishua's Ignorance for bidding the Sun stand still, and David's too,*

* Gen. i. 16.

*for saying that the Sun rejoiceth as a Gyant to run his Course; whereas, according to the Copernican System, the Sun is demonstrably the Centre of the World. He wou'd have pitied the Weakness of the Holy Men of old, for talking of the Ends, Sides, and Corners of the Earth, whereas all the Modern Sons of Science know it to be Spherical. He cou'd have been very Witty likewise upon the Mistake in the * Kings and Chronicles, about the Measure of Solomon's Brazen Sea, whose Diameter is said to be Ten Cubits, and its Circumference thirty; whereas every Modern Geometrician knows, that the more exact Proportion between the Diameter and the Circumference, is not as Ten to Thirty, but rather as Seven to Twenty two. And so again, for Chronology and Arithmetick, he cou'd have flourish'd upon the Errors of the Sacred Writers in these Respects, and told us how in † some places the Posterity of Abraham is said to have sojourn'd in the Land of Ægypt four hundred Years; whereas ** other Scriptures tell us that they stay'd thirty Years longer; and thus in || one Passage, the number of Jacob's House, who came into Ægypt, is computed to be Seventy, whereas *† elsewhere they are said to be Seventy Five. But here the Answer is short and sufficient, that the Scripture was not design'd to make us Philosophers, but only Wise unto Salvation, and therefore speaks not exactly according to the Philosophick, but popular Account of Things; and so here in numbring of Jacob's House, conforms to the common*

* 1 King. vii. 23. 2 Chron. iv. 2. † Gen. xv. 13. Acts vii. 6.
 ** Exod. xii. 41. Gal. iii. 17. || Gen. xvi. 27. *† Acts vii. 14.

*way of using a round number for the whole. Since then the Holy Ghost was not pleas'd totally to exempt the Sacred Peninen from all kinds of Insignificant Error, this busie Person methinks might have spar'd the Ancients for the like, and cover'd them with the excuse of * Acoſta, Facile condonandum est Patribus, si cum cognoscendo colendo; Creatori toti vacarent, de Creaturâ minus aptè aliquâ ex parte opinati sunt. The Fathers are very pardonable for not having such exact and adequate Notions about the Creature, considering they gave up themselves entirely to the Knowledge and Worship of the Creator. But this is not all, for we are told, that the Fathers have strongly contradicted one another, and maintain'd different Opinions in Matters of very great Importance. Now these Matters of very great Importance have been often serv'd up before, but to give us an utter Surfeit of the Fathers, they are brought to Table again; and they are such as these; The various Opinions about the Millenium, the Observation of Easter-day, the Infusion or Generation of the Soul, the Reality of Samuel's Ghost, the Fast on Saturdays, the Age of Christ, the Procession of the Holy Ghost, &c. All which are Questions Problematical, such as were and are differently maintain'd to this Day, and with Innocence; of which a Christian may be safely Ignorant without any danger to his Faith. As to the Procession of the Holy Ghost, which at first sight seems the most shocking difference, 'tis in truth to as little purpose as any of the rest; for whoever believes a*

* De nat. novi Orbis. lib. 1. c. 2.

Trinity of Divine Persons in the Unity of the God-head, or one Essence, believes sufficient, without more explicit Notions of the Modes of the Eternal Generation and Procession, which are Mysteries beyond the Depth of any Created Intellect: And I must needs say, that it had been much better, if some great Men had only prov'd the Matter of Fact, viz. That such an Article is express in Scripture, and attested by all the first Catholick Writers, and so left it as a Doctrine Incomprehensible. And now after all these good endeavours to render the Fathers contemptible, I answer first, that supposing 'em to contradict one another strongly in some Points, we lay not any stress upon these Contradictory Opinions. Secondly, This very Contradiction in Matters of little or no Moment, is a very good Reason to believe 'em where they are all Unanimous, it being from hence evident, that they wrote not by compact, but purely for the sake of Truth. Thirdly, They are all of a Mind in the great Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, tho' they shou'd differ in the manner of Explication, and use some Expressions with less Guard and Caution, before Heresies gave occasion to speak and Define more strictly. And lastly, Errors in Opinion ought never to unqualifie honest Men for Witnesses of Fact.

The sixth and last Reason is, That neither those of the Church of Rome, nor the Protestants, do acknowledge the Fathers for their Judges in Points of Religion, but do both of them reject such of their Opinions and Practices as are not for their Gust.

As for those of the Church of Rome, 'tis a

shew'd sign, we say, that they are conscious of the Weakness of their Cause, that they will not stand the Test of Antiquity: But for our own Reformers, sure I am, that they declin'd not the Tryal, but appeal'd to the Judgment of the Fathers, not only (as this Author wou'd have it) for the Confutation of Romish Novelties, but also for the Establishment of their own Doctrines. And tho' they did not look upon 'em as Infallible, yet they look'd upon 'em as the best Appointed Judges since the Apostles, which is all we contend for. For 'tis not the part of a Judge, (as the Objector seems all along to suppose) to make Laws, but to Interpret those already made. And therefore, tho' I grant him, that the Scripture contains all things necessary both for the Service of God, and the Salvation of Mens Souls, yet I deny his Consequence, That therefore nothing else is necessary; for he himself must allow, strength of Reason and Application, a great skill in Greek, in the Customes and Controversies of the Apostolick Age, with an unbias'd Will, to be necessary Qualifications for understanding the Gospel, or else that all Men are Judges alike; and therefore say I, no Men so well Accomplish'd for Interpreters of Scripture, as those who sat at the Feet of the Apostles, or their immediate Successors, and spoke the Language, and liv'd among the Customes, and minded nothing else but to know Christ and him Crucify'd, supposing them without the extraordinary Assistances of the Spirit in those extraordinary Times of Suffering. I grant likewise this Gentleman his fine Similies, that Brooks of Water, the farther distant they are from their Springs, the more Filth they contract; and that

a Man

a Man in Years loses a great deal of his Infant simplicity; and for this very Reason conclude, that the Christian Religion runs purer, and shines with more Native Beauty and Apostolical Plainness in the Writers of the first four Centuries, than in those of the succeeding and more corrupted Ages.

And moreover, supposing a Falling away, even in the Sence of this Author, yet the Apostles who forewarn'd this Apostacy, forearm'd no doubt against it; and the best provision against it, was to set up not only Pious and Orthodox, but Prudent and Active Bishops over the several Churches they founded; Men not taken up with the little things of this World, and with their Faces towards Jerusalem, and yet for the Worship upon Mount Gerizim, but such as wou'd contend earnestly for the Faith, Polity, and Discipline, which was once deliver'd unto the Saints, and in all things Moderate, but in the grand Concerns of God and Religion: Now about the Choice of such Bishops, the Apostles who cou'd discern Spirits cou'd not be ignorant; and such consequently was St. Ignatius, when he was set over Antioch by St. John; and continuing Faithful to the day of his Martyrdom, what Reason can there be to question the Purity of his Doctrine, tho' the Mystery of Iniquity was then a working? And if I cannot question him as a Doctor, much less surely can I question him as a Witness of Fact; for a Man of Integrity, I hope, may be a competent Witness in any Age. So that he who urges the Falling away of some, against the Belief of others, may with the like Reason urge the Apostacy of Judas against the Credibility of St. Paul.

I will not go about to persue this Writer thro' all
his

his Wood of Quotations, to shew only how both Protestants and Papists have taken the liberty of departing from the Ancients, in Opinion, Ceremony, and Discipline; for granting all he contends for, I say First, That in all necessary Points of Doctrine and Church-Government, we hold with the Primitive Christians. Secondly, In some Ceremonies we differ, and this too by the Authority and Example of the Ancients; tho' I cannot but think that the more we all Conform to the Pattern of the Catholick Church in the eldest and purest Times, even in the Externals of Worship, so much the better, so much the more Cordial our Love and Union, the more Beauty, Order, and Harmony, the more like Children of the same Family, and Servants of the same Master. Thirdly, as to Discipline; and in this indeed, I cannot say, we so much differ from the Ancients, as that we have none at all: For of old, all notorious Offenders of what Quality soever, were immediately censur'd and separated from the Faithful, and by them so strictly avoided, not only in this or that particular Church, but all Christendom over, that Shame and Solitude brought 'em to a Sence of their Evil ways, and forc'd 'em to submit to a long and severe course of Penance; and happy did they think themselves at last, if with Prayers and Tears they might be admitted to the Peace of God and the Church again; such was the Primitive way of reducing Sinners to Consideration and Amendment, many of whom had liv'd on without Reflection till the day of their death, might they have pass'd uncensur'd as in these Times of Relaxation; and had the Church never call'd in the Assistance of the State, but kept the Powers distinct, and acted

acted solely within her Spiritual Jurisdiction, and gravely, maturely, and constantly, proceeded against scandalous Offenders; I can see no Reason why her Censures shou'd not be as much dreaded now, as in her first state of Independance and Persecution; and the Power of the Keys, I believe, had been more Venerable without the Axe of the Magistrate; But by mixing Powers, the Spiritual one, by degrees is well nigh quite swallow'd up, and 'tis the grand Question now adays, whether the Church has any inherent Power of her own, but only as she is Authoriz'd from the State, that is, whether Bishops ceas'd not to be Bishops after Constantine's Conversion, or the Sacerdotal Power devolved not upon the Civil Magistrate upon his turning Christian? If then the Number or Quality of Offenders is by long Remissness grown too great for Censure, if for fear of bearing too hard upon Dissenters, the Church cannot proceed against the grossest Sinners, or obey the Canon in refusing the Sacrament to a Schismatick without incurring the Penalty of the Law, 'tis not that we dislike the Discipline of the Ancients, but that our Circumstances will not admit of it, and we hope our Calamity will not be our Crime; until then the said Primitive Discipline be restor'd again, (which we say is much to be wished) we must be sure to wait God's good time with the Primitive Patience, and declare God's wrath against Sinners, where we cannot like the Ancients enforce it. For according to * Bernard, We ought not to omit what we can do, because we cannot do as we ought.

* Debeone omittere quod possum, quoniam quod debeat minime possum? Bern. Ep. 175.

*And now I have done with the Seventeen Reasons of the Celebrated Mr. Daillè against the Use and Authority of the Fathers, and do hope that this short Answer may serve for an Antidote against the Poison of that long and spiteful Book; and by this time, I dare say, that the Reader, as well as my self, has taken a surfeit of Reasons. But neither one nor the other had been troubled with so many Particulars, had not I found most of the Arguments * Reviv'd of late, and Reinforc'd with fresh Supplies, not only to Invalidate their Reasonings and Testimonies in the point of Episcopacy, but in many other unhappy Differences between us and our Dissenting Brethren: And because I wou'd do Justice to the Memory of those Saints and Martyrs, who deserv'd much better Treatment from the Christian World; and moreover, because I wou'd make way for Cultivating the Study of the Ancients, and for more Translations of this kind. For were the Writings of the Fathers, such as they are here Represented, the Reader, but especially the Translator, ought both to be sent to the Workhouse for better Employment. But whoever loves the Sport, will soon find Wit and Dirt enough to Bespatter, and something to Pin upon the wisest and best Man living, to set Children and Fools a Laughing. Let him but, in Imitation of Mr. Daillè, describe Noah only by his Drunkenness, or David by his Adultery, or Peter by his Denial; let him but draw a shade over the Wisdom, Goodness, or Beauty of the Perfectest in their Kind, and lay on his Colours purely upon their Follies, Vices, and Blemishes, and we shall not find*

* Def. of Moder. Nonconf. p. 1. p. 144, &c.

one Wise, Good, or Beautiful Person in the World. 'Tis a much easier matter to Cut than Cure, to be Witty than Wise, and a very ordinary Hand will serve to Deface, what a Pearson or a Grabe only can Restore and Beautify. And now after all his Pains, and Ambitious Ornaments, to dress up the Fathers once more in the Skins of Wild Beasts, and to Martyr 'em over again, I think I cannot do better than to shut up their Character in the Words of their Enemy.

*" First of all, therefore, (says he) you shall find
" in the Fathers, very many earnest and zealous
" Exhortations to Holiness of Life, and to the Ob-
" servation of the Discipline of Jesus Christ. Se-
" condly, You shall there meet with very strong and
" solid Proofs of those Fundamental Principles of
" our Religion, touching which we are all agreed:
" And also many excellent things laid open, tend-
" ing to the right understanding of these Mysteries;
" and also of the Scriptures wherein they are con-
" tained. In this very particular their Authority
" may be of good use unto you, and may serve as a
" probable Argument of the Truth. For is it not a
" wonderful thing to see, that so many great Wits,
" born in so many several Ages, during the space
" of fifteen hundred Years, and in so many several
" Countries, being also of so different Tempers,
" and who in other things were of so contrary Opi-
" nions, shou'd notwithstanding be found all of them
" to agree so constantly and unanimously in the Fun-
" damentals of Christianity? that amidst so great
" Diversity in Worship, they all adore one and the
" same Christ; preach one and the same Sanctifi-
" cation; hope all of them for one and the same
Immor-*

" Immortality; acknowledge all of them the same
 " Gospels; find therein all of them great and high
 " Mysteries; and I take the liberty to add, live
 under one and the same Form of Church-Govern-
 ment) " For, I beseech you, what probability is
 " there, that so many Holy Men, who were endued
 " (as it appeareth by their Writings) with such
 " admirable Parts, with so much strength and clear-
 " ness of Understanding, shou'd all of them be so
 " grossly overseen, as to set so high a Price and
 " Esteem upon this Discipline, as to suffer even to
 " Death for it; unless it had in it some certain
 " heavenly Virtue, for to make an Impression in the
 " Souls of Men? What likelihood, that seven or
 " eight Dogs, and as many Atheistical Hogs, that
 " Bark and Grunt so sottishly, and confusedly against
 " this Sacred and Venerable Religion, shou'd have
 " better luck in lighting upon the Truth, than so
 " many excellent Men, who have all so unanimously
 " born Testimony to the Truth? What wonder is it
 " if a Whoremaster, or a Bawd, or an ambitious
 " Person cry down that Discipline, that condemneth
 " these Vices to everlasting Fire? To take any notice
 " of what such wretched things as these say, is all
 " one, as if you shou'd judge, by taking the Opinion
 " of Common Strumpets, of the Equity or Injustice
 " of the Laws that enjoin People to live honest:
 " But seeing these Holy Men were born and brought
 " up in the very same Infirmities with the others;
 " we cannot doubt but that they also naturally had
 " strong Inclinations to those Vices, which our Sa-
 " viour Christ forbiddeth, and very little Affection
 " to those Virtues he commandeth. Forasmuch
 " therefore, as notwithstanding all this, they have
 " yet

“ yet all of them constantly maintain’d that his Do-
 “ctrine is true; their Testimony certainly in this
 “ case neither can, nor ought in any wise to be su-
 “ spected. So that altho’ they had not any of those
 “ great and incomparable Advantages of Parts and
 “ Learning, above the Enemies of Christianity;
 “ their bare Word however is much rather to be
 “ taken than the others; seeing that these Men are
 “ manifestly carried away by the Force of their vile
 “ Affections, of which the other cannot possibly be
 “ suspected guilty.

But besides this, he allows another very consi-
 derable Use of the Fathers, namely, that upon the
 Broaching of any New Doctrines as Necessary to
 be Believ’d, the Ancients may be Properly and
 Seasonably Appeal’d to, against the Impudence of
 Such Innovatours; and if it can be prov’d, that
 the Fathers were utterly Ignorant of any Such
 Fancies, as these Men propose to the World, We
 ought then certainly to conclude, that no such
 Doctrine was ever preach’d to Mankind; either
 by our Saviour Christ, or by his Apostles. For
 what probability is there, that these Holy Doctors
 of former Ages, from whose Hands Christianity
 has been deriv’d down unto us, shou’d be igno-
 rant of any of those things which had been Re-
 vealed and Recommended by our Saviour, as im-
 portant and necessary to Salvation? So that after
 all this clutter of Objections, we have at length
 the Objector granting, that the Fathers were Warm
 and Excellent Preachers and Livers of the Pure
 Christian Religion; and indubitable Proofs of the
 Truth of it, and incomparably qualify’d for the Un-
 derstanding of its Mysteries, and also of the Scri-

ptures wherein they are contain'd; *and withal, an undeniable Answer to all Novelties, as necessary Articles; and if so, then I have all I have been contending for, and from the Mouth of Mr. Daillè; and certainly, (says Tertullian) we may believe the Evil Spirits upon their Word, when they confess against themselves.*

I come now in the last Place to shew some of the unhappy Consequences of too lightly departing from the Fathers.

Tho' all the necessary Foundations of Faith and Manners are plainly laid down in the Gospel, tho' the Apostles no doubt instructed their Successors in many particulars about the Government and Discipline of the Church, which we find not in the Gospel; yet certain it is, that they rais'd not the Structure to that Heighth and Beauty, and set every thing in that Perfection of Order they wou'd have done, had the Civil Power been on their side; for we find Disorders and Heresies putting forth even in the Apostolick Age. However, notwithstanding these Spots and Imperfections, the Church was purer and perfecter by much in her Infancy, than in her declining Age. This, I say, is evident in Fact, from the Testimony of all sorts of Writers at that Time; and that it must have been so, is as evident for these two Reasons: First, That the Church was then in a State of Persecution; and 'tis not the way of Flesh and Blood, for such Veterans in Wickedness as have always been in the Service of the World and the Lusts thereof, to come over to a Persecuted Religion, and to quit their present Possessions for a Happiness in Reversion they cou'd not Relish. Secondly, The Discipline

of the Church was then severe and searching; and if her Purity and Affliction cou'd not defend her from occasional Friends, her Rod soon found 'em out, and drove 'em from her Communion. But after the Emperours came to submit to the Cross, and the Beauty of Preferment shone full in the Eyes of the Preachers; when Peace, and Plenty, and Court-Favours invited warmly on one hand, and the Sword of Discipline was sheathing up on the other, then Abuses came pouring in amain, and propagated in abundance, till at length the Church was overflow'd with that Deluge of Corruption we found it under at the time of Reformation. If then from Testimony, and for these two Reasons, besides those already mention'd, the Primitive Church must have been Comparatively the Purest and Perfectest in all Respects, then the departing too lightly from such a Church, must needs be attended with very ill Consequences; for when we lay aside our Rule, there's no End of Error; the Effects of which, I shall touch upon in these following Particulars, Doctrine, Holiness, Unity, and Discipline.

And First as to Doctrine. The many different Confessions of Faith now abroad in the World, are a manifest Proof that all are not in the Right, unless they can differ and be in the right both together. And as Heresies encreas'd, so Creeds were enlarg'd by a fuller and more express Provision against 'em; and for this reason we may conclude, that fewer Heresies arose in the Western than the Eastern Churches, because the Roman Symbol continu'd longest in its Original Simplicity. But now That Church which boasts of Infallibility, is fullest of Error; How is the faithful City become an Harlot?

And how like one too does she varnish over her Adulteries with the Colour of Antiquity, and after all, wipe her Mouth, and say, I have done no Wickedness? And how came this Work of Darkeness to its present Bulk and Enormity, but by Closeting and Corrupting the Fathers, by Expurgations, Interpolations, Traditions, and what not? Might but the Scriptures have continued the Rule of Faith, and the Ancients the Judges of the Sense of that Rule, we had never had as many Mediators in Christian, as Heathen Rome, nor Purgatory, nor private Masses, nor Angel-Saint-Image, or Relique-Worship, and many other profitable Absurdities Canoniz'd for Articles, tho' unheard of in the Purest Ages of the Church; but this is too large a Field.

*And as the Papists have killed the Prophets, and garnish'd their Sepulchres, murder'd the Ancients with all the shew of Reverence for Antiquity; so on the contrary, others have set up their Idol Reason in open Defiance of their Authority. For * Socinus talking of his huge Skill in Divinity, values himself extremely for having no other Master but his Uncle Lælius, or rather some very few of his Writings, with plenty of his Remarks, for his whole stock of Instruction. And what was the Effect of this mighty Genius's setting up in Divinity upon his own and his Uncle's stock of Reason only, in Defiance of the Fathers? Why, he made a shift to Reason himself out of his Christianity and his Senses into this notable Absurdity, viz. To make Christ*

* Quin etiam in universa ipsâ Divinarum rerum Scientiâ quæcunq; tandem illa in me sit, præter unum Lælium Patrum meum, qui jam diu mortuus est, vel potius præter quædam paucula ab ipso conscripta & multa annotata, nullum prorsus magistrum me habere cõgiti. F. S. ad Super. Epist. Squarcialupi Responsio. p. 361. Fol.

a meer Man, and yet to Worship him as a God; and to exclude the Holy Ghost, in whose Name we are baptiz'd out of the Godhead. *By scorning Authorities, and Dint of free Thinking, he came to that prodigious pitch above the Ancients, as to make a new Discovery of the Rights of the Christian Church, and has left noble Hints for his Sons of Reason to finish, for the Improvement of the present Age. For this Enemy of the ever Blessed Trinity says, * There is no scruple to be made but that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may be celebrated by any Company of Men professing the name of Christ, tho' the Scripture I think is express, that no Man taketh this Honour to himself, but he that is called of God as Aaron was.*

He makes no scruple likewise to declare † Water-Baptism no lasting Precept, nor ever enjoin'd either by Christ or his Apostles to such as had any way declar'd publickly for Christ, or been brought up in his Religion from their Childhood. As to those Precepts and Declarations in Scripture, such as, Go ye therefore, and Disciple all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: He that believeth and is Baptized, shall be saved: Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: Re-

* Quod ad Cœnam Domini attinet, nihil est cur suspicari possimus, eam a quolibet Christi nomen profitentium cœtu celebrari non posse. ad Marth. Radecium Epist. 3. p. 383.

† De aquæ Baptismo ego ita sentio, eum Ecclesiæ in perpetuum præscriptum non fuisse, nec unquam, ut illum acciperent iis præceptum neq; a Christo, neq; ab Apostolis fuisse, qui jam ipsi Christo aliâ quacunq; ratione publice nomen dedissent, vel a primis annis in Christianâ disciplinâ educati atq; instituti essent. ad Mart. Radecium Epist. 3. p. 383, 384.

pent, and be Baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the Remission of Sins, &c. These and many more like Passages, as express as words can well be for the necessity of Water-Baptism, and always so understood by the first Catholick Writers, who constantly interpos'd a considerable time between the Catechetical Instructions, and the Baptism of Adult Persons; these, I say, are all eluded by Socinus, by being content with himself alone even in matters of History; who * resolves the Baptism in the places just cited, partly into a meer Ablution of the Soul, or inward washing away of Sins by Repentance, and partly evades the Necessity of Baptism by making the Precept neither Universal nor Perpetual; and all this for fear of coming to a Confession of Original Sin, which your great pretenders to Reason are not fond of; so hard a thing is it to find any Text plain enough for some Men, who affect to lose themselves in a new way, rather than to go Right in an Old one with Company.

Thus again Episcopius and Curcellæus, Men of fine Parts, of subact Judgment, and great Politeness, but both too great strangers to the Fathers, have well nigh trod in the steps of Socinus in most of the foregoing Errors; for by overlooking all that's Primitive, the universal Consent of the earliest Doctors in their Writings, and the most solemn Determinations of their Successors in Councils, and by Presuming upon waxen Wings, meer Reason only, in the highest Mystery, they signaliz'd their Rashness by falling into fatal Mistakes even in matters of Faith;

* De Baptif. aquæ F. S. Disputatio.

for they * argu'd against the Necessity of Believing God the Son to be of the same Substance with God the Father, and find fault with the Word *ὁμοούσιος*, as a Bone of Contention, a novel Term, and not in use before the Nicene Council. But if Christ be not of the same Substance with the Father, he must be a Creature, and then it must be a Breach of the first Commandment to Worship him as a God. Besides, the stupendiousness of the Father's Love emphatically consists herein, that he sent his Only begotten Son, not one made of a Virgin only for that purpose, but the Son of his Bosome and Essence, to save Sinners. And herein also consists the exceeding Philanthropy of Christ, that being God of God before all Worlds, he wou'd descend to take upon him our Nature, and to suffer in it for our Sins; for had he been a meer Man only, what wonder, if he was contented to suffer as he did, to be exalted as he is. So that the Divine OEconomy, and the whole Mystery of our Redemption is debased and vilify'd to the lowest degree, by the not Belief of this Article. And therefore the Nicene Fathers had great Reason to contend so earnestly for the Consubstantiality of the Son, and to make use of the Term they did, which is fully expressive of Christ's Divinity, and used too by the Fathers before that Council, as our most Learned Bishop Bull has sufficiently prov'd against Episcopius; which Treatise had he liv'd to see, I verily believe, wou'd have convinc'd him of the vanity of his Reasoning, and his want of Antiquity.

Thus again, others of fresher Date, by leaning solely upon their own Understandings, and the Ad-

* Vid. Curcæl. Præfat. ad Episcop. de necessitate credendi modum Filiationis Divinæ Jesu Christi. Institut. Theolog. lib. 4. cap. 34.

*vantage of clear Ideas, would prove Christianity not Myfterious, and contract the twelve Articles of the Apostles Creed into one, and that too a very Ambiguous one, namely, That Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ or Messiah, that is, the Anointed of the Lord, or an extraordinary Person sent from God. Nor am I much surpris'd to find the Great Author of the Reasonableness of Christianity so sparing of his Faith, and peculiar in his Notions of Religion, (to say no worse of it) when I find him so great a stranger to Christian Antiquity, as to beg his Friend's Information, * Whether any Miracles were done after the times of the Apostles. I am very willing to believe Mr. Lock's sincerity for Truth, but by his Letters lately publish'd, one would be apt to imagine, that he and Philip a Limbourg, Le Clerc, and a few others, were the only Persons in Reality concern'd for Truth. But I hope the Martyrs were as much concern'd for Truth as the Lockits, and therefore to set aside the Ancient Creeds, and to substitute a single Article of his own Head in contempt of the Fathers, and at every turn to drop the spitefullest Reflections upon the Christian Priesthood; this, I say, in my Opinion, does not so well comport with that Candor and Impartiality for Truth they so liberally bestow upon each other in these Epistles. And had they spent more time upon the Fathers, I dare say, they had not been worse Reasoners, nor worse Christians.*

But thus it will always be, when Men will be wise by themselves alone, and measure Divine

* De Miraculis post Apostolorum tempora certiozem fieri cupio. Non ego satis versatus in Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ, ut quid de iis statim norim, &c. Lock's Letters. p. 332.

Truths by their Line of Reason; there will be nothing but tinkering in matters of Religion, and perpetual mending of Creeds, when the only thing to be mended is their Manners. Which brings me to the second ill Effect of departing from the Fathers, and that is, in the Point of Holiness.

Whoever reads over these Apologies, and compares 'em with the fifth of St. Matthew, will find the hardest Lines in that Chapter, in the Lives of the Primitive Christians; Loving, Praying, and doing good under the bitterest Provocations: Chastity and Temperance, Purity and Patience, Poverty and Thankfulness, Courage and Non-Resistance, were the Virtues they preach'd and practis'd in the plain Sence, and up to the full extent of the Letter, without shifting and doubling Distinctions and Evasions, to put a trick upon the Precepts, and satisfy the Law and their Lusts into the bargain. These persecuted People had the same self Preservation, the same force of Appetite, and the same Reluctances in Nature as we have, and therefore no doubt made as careful Inquiries into the extent and obligation of these grim Duties as we can do. And we have our Master's word, that People so dispos'd to do the Will of his Father, shall know of the Doctrine and its Meaning, whether it be from God, much better than those, who study the Scriptures, as some do the Statute Book, only to avoid the Penalties; not so much for going to Heaven, as for not going to Hell. These are the Students that are so against the Fathers, because the Fathers are so against them. The Lives and Interpretations of Martyrs, the Zeal and Stiffness of those hardy inflexible Christians are severe and

frightful things, nor do comport well with Times of Suppleness and Compliance with whatever sort of Religion. The Principles of Christian Morality were then fixt and indisputable; and tho' Briers and Thorns were with 'em, and they dwelt among Scorpions, yet without mincing the matter, they deliver'd the most unpalatable Truths in the most Persecuting Times, and were themselves the Examples of what they Taught. But now we have so many Questions and Quirks, not only about the Practice, but even the Theory of Holiness, that Men hardly know what either to believe or practise. For we have burning Hereticks, and deposing Princes, for Gospel; Penance, and Pilgrimage for real Holiness; we have Faith without Works, Saints without Morality, and Morality without Faith; Christianity without Sacraments, a Church without a Priesthood, Communion without Unity, and Loyalty without Obedience. These are some other ill Consequences of depending upon our selves only, of Reasoning from Scripture without the Practice of the Ancients, whose Writings Providence has spar'd us for our Instruction and Example; the neglect of which, I take to be both a Cause of our Unholiness, and an Aggravation of our Sin.

Another ill Effect of not knowing, or at least of not regarding Primitive Christianity, is the want of Union and Order. By this shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples (says our Master) if ye love one another; and, See how these Christians love one another, was the Heathen Proverb in the time of Tertullian. Love and Union was then the Badge or Phylactery that distinguish'd the Christian Sect from all others. The Church of Christ was then

then a well regulated Society, like a natural Body, wherein all the Members maintain their respective Relation, and act in a due subordination to, and dependence upon, one another; no dispute or Schism about Fundamentals of Faith or Government arise in any Church, but they all sympathiz'd as Members of the same Body, and bewail'd it universally, and forthwith apply'd all the Lenitives of Persuasion to heal the Breach; and if these prov'd ineffectual, proceeded to severer Methods of Penance and Excommunication. For they * concluded with St. Paul, That without Church-Unity there was no Inheriting the Kingdom of God. For the better Preservation of which Unity, they had their *Synodical*, or Commendatory Epistles mention'd by St. Paul, which were Letters granted by the Bishop to such of his Clergy as were going into another Diocese, to testifie the Soundness of their Faith, and the Integrity of their Lives; and to such likewise, as had been under Excommunication, or at least suspected so to have been, to declare their Absolution, and recommend 'em to be again receiv'd into the number of the Faithful. But now this Union and Correspondence between Churches is in a manner quite laid aside; every one forms its own way of Worship and Polity, without consulting another; nay, one Episcopal Church can look upon the Ruin of another, without interposing a Prayer for its Recovery, as is done for the welfare of other reformed Churches, and as is prescribed by the 55th Canon. But from the Beginning it was not so; for no sooner was Aerius sowing his Tares, and Anti-

* Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. p. 184.

PREFACE, Concerning the

Episcopal Principles, but immediately the Phinehas's stood up and Condemn'd the Heretick, and so the Plague was stay'd from the Church of Christ. We can no longer say, that Jerusalem is at Unity in it self, and that the Church is but one, for 'tis rent into Factions and Parties; and Christians divide now a days not only upon just Grounds, but we have a Church within a Church, and Strife, and Hatred, and Nick-names of Distinction, between those of the same Communion; and we have different Sects and Communions where we are united in one common Faith and Interest. These things, my Brethren, ought not so to be. But 'tis not likely to be otherwise, while there is not Primitive Honesty and Greatness of Soul enough to lay before the People plainly the great Sin of Separation, about matters indifferent in their own Nature. For if Schism be a Sin, and a damnable one too, as the Apostle affirms, then it can never be too often inculcated; that tho' the Civil Power may excuse from the Penalty, it can never take off from the Guilt. But while we go on at this rate with our mollifying Oyntments, and are for sowing Pillows only, and providing for the Repose of Sinners; while we are continually Haranguing upon a false Moderation, and can reject a Schismatick with one Hand, and give him the Communion with the other, what do we else but teach the People to Err upon Principle, and to look upon Church-Communion as no wise necessary to Salvation? Something, 'tis true, must be allow'd to the Iniquity of the Times; but sure I am, that so many smooth things upon this Head wou'd never have been prophecy'd under the Primitive Warmth of Christianity. If then, the want of Union and Order

is the Bane of all Society, either Spiritual or Civil; if the People by knowing nothing of Antiquity, judge only of the Primitive Church by the Doctrines and Customs they hear and see in the places they live, and consequently conclude, that the Christians of old were as Moderate and Indifferent about Unity and Order in Religion as the Moderns; and if this be a very dangerous and fatal Mistake, then certainly 'tis a Duty incumbent on every Pastor to undeceive his Flock, and both in Season and out of Season, to set 'em right in the notion of Church-Communion, and the Sin of Separation. And the way to do this, is first by the Tenor of the Gospel, and then by the Practice of the purest Ages; it being, I think, sufficiently evident from what has been said, that what was the constant Opinion and Practice of the Times nearest the Apostles, and is moreover suitable to the Precepts and Spirit of the Gospel, ought to be had in very high esteem by all Christians. This I take to be the only way of Reforming upon a sure and lasting bottom, and to draw nearest to Perfection, by reducing things (as far as may be) into their natural and primitive Channel.

*I come now in the last Place to the Point of Discipline. The noise of the Seas, and the madness of the People go together in Scripture and Experience, and we may as well preach stillness to the one without a Sea-Wall, as Obedience to the other without Discipline. Whoever reads over but the tenth Book of Sleidan's Commentaries, will see such a Scene of Consecrated Cruelty, Beastliness, and Blasphemy, as will make the Hair of his Flesh (in Job's phrase) stand up, and put him hard to't from an Imagination of Hell broke loose upon Earth, to form an Idea of Wickedness equal to what he will
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there find in fact from the Anabaptists at Munster. And when the Ancient Fences of the Church are broken down, and the Reins of Discipline let loose upon the Necks of the People, and Enthusiasm the Spur, they seldom stop short of the same Pitch of Religious Frenzy. We have felt something like it at home, and what has been, may be. For not only the Power of the Keys, but the very Name of Church in the Sence of the Ancients, is now a perfect Jest in the Sence of some Moderns. Christian Liberty is look'd upon, not meerly as a Gracious Delivery from our selves, from the Guilt and Powers of Sin, and Satan, and from the Yoke of Moses, but as a Total Exemption from the Fundamental Laws of Society and Order; that is, the Gospel-Dispensation is such a Perfect Law (if I may so term it) of Liberalism or Levelling, that the Congregation are Holy every one of them; not every Man only, but every Woman, tho' expresly forbidden by St. Paul so much as to speak in the Church, has now it seems the same Authority to admit into it by Baptism, as a Priest. So that in short, the Powers that are, both Sacerdotal and Civil, according to the new way of Gospelizing, are not from God but the People; and consequently all Power being inherent in them, they can determine the Form and Execution of it as they will, and Officiate (if they please) in any part of the Priestly Function; tho' it may not seem so August and Agreeable to Sovereign Majesty to do every thing by it self, for the People to be Masters and Ministers both, and to serve at the Altar in Person, when they Ordain the Clergy to do it for 'em. But while the People are poison'd with such Schemes of Licentiousness, and permitted to sleep under the pleasing Delusion, and to look upon the Primitive

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Discipline of the Church, as an Arbitrary thing of meer Human Institution only, and consequently alterable at pleasure; this Error, I say, if suffer'd to go on at this rate, is not unlikely to end, not only in the Ruin of the Church as a Society, but in the utter Dissolution of Christian Morality. And therefore I shall take upon me to prove, that the Primitive Discipline, as to its Essentials, is a necessary and inviolable Order of God; and this I shall shew, from the Nature of the thing, from the express Word of God, and from the consequent Practice of the Universal Church; and if these three will not amount to a Demonstration of a Divine Establishment, I shall despair of ever knowing what will.

And first, from the Nature of the Thing. The God of Order never appoints any Government, but therewithal appoints the Means necessary to that End. And if he secur'd the Polity of the Jewish Church, which was to be dissolv'd in the fulness of Time, with such a Hedge of Ceremony and Discipline; 'tis not reasonable to believe, that he left the most perfect and lasting Church of Christ without any particular Rules of Government; especially since Christ has manifestly fixt the Orders of Church-Governours upon the Jewish Model; and in the case of private Differences (as shall be more fully evinced anon from Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17.) proceeded upon the order in practice amongst the Jews. Had the Primitive Pastors admitted Men into the Church without distinction, and retain'd them as Members in spite of their Sins, the Christian Society had been justly charg'd by the Heathen, as a College of Debauchery; but by admitting so cautiously, and upon such a solemn Vow of Holiness in the presence of the Congregation; and so likewise by publicly cen-
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sureing, Suspending, and Excommunicating the Incorrigible upon the Non-performance of the Baptismal-Covenant; by such Acts of Discipline, I say, the Church gave a publick Proof, and the most Authentick Testimony to those without, of the Purity and Holiness of the Christian Profession.

The Usefulness therefore and Necessity of such Discipline for the Reputation and Order of the Church, proves it to be from God, as well as the Doctrine it self. But Secondly, If notorious Sinners may be suffered to live in the Communion of the Church, and to enjoy the same Privileges with the Faithful; is not such a Toleration a Temptation to Sin on, and to believe, by seeing no difference made here between the Good and Bad, that there will be none hereafter; but by being Members of the same Fraternity, they have the same Title to Happiness, notwithstanding their Sins; that they shall all go to Heaven in a Body, and be sav'd, not so much for the goodness of their Lives, as their Adherence to a Party? But now by seeing themselves cut off from the Christian Body, their Party-hopes will be cut off too; and by finding no Communion to be had with an Orthodox Church, without an Orthodox Life, and no Salvation in opposition to such Communion, they will see the Misery of their Condition; and this will be apt to bring 'em to a right notion of Things, to a better Mind, and better Manners. Thirdly, By Cutting off the Incurable, the sound are preserv'd. The Minds of Men are as apt to Infection, as their Bodies; and we are not fond of Living where the Plague is, purely to try the strength of our Constitution. But if Atheists and Deists, Socinians and Antinomians, may lye undistinguish'd, uncensur'd in the Bosome of the Church,
who

who can tell where the Plague will stop, and that the Contagion may not spread by degrees throughout the Community? Besides, the Shame and Fear of Discipline are mighty Checks upon the Inclinations of the less Virtuous; and the Good likewise are confirm'd and strengthen'd by seeing Justice done upon the Wicked; and the Honour of the Church is vindicated from Scandal; and therefore from the Nature of Discipline I argue it to be of Divine Authority, because the Church of God as a Society cannot subsist without it.

*To this Argument from the Nature of the Thing I add, in the next place, the express Word of God. Our Lord himself in the * Case of private Trespasses, commands the injured Person to go first and tell the Trespasser his fault friendly by himself, and if that will not gain him, to take with him one or two more, and if he shall neglect to hear them, to tell it unto the Church, and if that proves ineffectual, he is to be look'd upon as an Heathen Man and a Publican. And that the Governours of the Christian Church shou'd not question the Power of Excommunicating upon such Occasions, which was in practice among the † Jews, our Lord thus solemnly determines the Point, Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. This then evidently declares an Authority in the Church to interpose in the case of private Differences, and to Excommunicate too upon neglect of her Authority; and if so, the Argument holds much stronger, in the case of such publick Offences, as reflect upon the*

* Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18. † Vid. Bux. Florileg. p. 297.

*whole Community, and strike not only at the Honour; but the very Being of the Church. St. Paul severely reprimands the * Corinthians for not having taken the Incestuous Person from among them; which supposes a Power in the Church of expelling that filthy Person, by charging it as a Crime that they had not done it, and for a precedent for the future Excommunicates him himself. The same Apostle † elsewhere delivers himself in this Authoritative Form, We command you in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw your selves from every Brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the Tradition which he hath received of us. And to put the matter out of question, the main Design and Drift of St. Paul's first Epistle to Timothy, is to mind him of his Authority, and to furnish him with Rules about the Government and Discipline of the Church. To this purpose he lays before him the particular Qualifications of Church Officers, and what measures the Pastors shou'd take about Information; how they shou'd proceed as to Censures, and the other principal Parts of Ecclesiastical Polity; and then adds, These things command and teach, let no Man despise thy Youth. And having deliver'd himself to the like Effect in his Epistle to Titus, he concludes with the like Charge, These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all Authority; let no Man despise thee. From these and many other Passages to the same purpose I conclude, that either nothing in the Gospel is Intelligible, or else that the Scriptures just now cited, evidently contain these following Orders, viz. That impenitent Sinners of any kind, are not to be*

* Corinth. cap. 5.

† 2 Thessal. iii. 6.

continued in Church-Communion, but to be proceeded against by Admonition, Censure, Suspension, and if these will not bring 'em to Confession and Amendment, they are to be rebuked with all Authority, and cut off from the Corporation of Christians. *Secondly*, That private Christians are Commanded by *St. Paul* in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ to withdraw from such Offenders, and with such Persons no not to eat; *that is, as Tertullian and Theodoret understand the Passage, with such we are not to eat at our own, much less at our Lord's Table. And Thirdly*, That *Timothy and Titus*, the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, are the only Persons with whom the exercise of this spiritual Power is entrusted. *If these Rules of Discipline are not clear from Scripture, we may raise a Cloud about any thing.*

But granting the Gospel not so clear and full, as at first view it seems to be, for the manner of Discipline, and the Officers to be entrusted with it; yet if with these seemingly plain Texts we will compare the universal Practice of the Primitive Church (which certainly is the best Commentary) we must have a mighty mind to be blind, if we cannot see the meaning. For nothing in History is more notorious, than that the Successors of the Apostles were very strict in the Tryal and Examination of the Candidates for Christianity, and that they put Offenders under a long and severe course of Penance, proportionate to their Crimes, and did not restore the Excommunicate till they had given good Proof of their Sincerity and Repentance, and made full Satisfaction to the

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Church;

Church; and that nothing of this Nature was transacted without the Bishop's Order. I am not ignorant, that the Primitive Church vary'd as to some Circumstances, and us'd their Discretion as to length of Time, or degrees of Penance, &c. but as to the Substance of Discipline in the Particulars now mention'd, there was as universal Agreement, as about the Sacraments themselves. If then the Gospel it self seems so express and clear for such a kind of Church-Governours, and for such a Form of Discipline, and if the Practice of the first Christians exactly suits with this Scheme, then we can have no greater Demonstration in the Question before us; for the Primitive Bishops were extremely fearful of Innovating in any Point, and many of 'em had their Rules, not only from the Letter of the Gospel, but from the very Mouths of the Apostles.

*Thus then stood the Government and Discipline of the Church in the time of these Apologists; thus it maintain'd its Authority and Holiness in the hardest and most persecuting Seasons, and increas'd and multiply'd till it became the Glory of the whole Earth; but when the Tempest was over, and the Church on the Sunny side; when Great Men were to be humour'd, and the Naamans wou'd be cured in State, and be Christians upon their own Terms, then came up the moderating Methods, and Abatements of the primitive Rigor; then began the Market of profitable Inventions, of Indulgences, auricular Confessions, private Penances, Satisfactions, and the whole Trade of Commutation; all manifest Traces and Abuses of the Old substantial Discipline, for the more ease
and*

*and convenience of Flesh and Blood. But when these and many other abominable Corruptions were grown too common and too big to go down with a knowing Age, then the World fell to work upon Reformation, but upon different Views, different Principles. The Great Men of little Religion were for Reforming the Church out of its Revenues, and stripping the Clergy into Bare Preachers, with little Subsistence and less Authority; for fear of a Relapse under the Temptations of Plenty and Power. Others again turn'd at the very mention of Bishop, and wrote against all sorts of Order and Church-Discipline with as much Fury, as if whatever was practised in the Church of Rome, was Antichristian. In short, all were wonderful Harmonious in pulling down, and removing the Rubbish, but not so unanimous in setting up what was Primitive and Apostolical in its stead; no, not Calvin, nor Bucer themselves, who * complain so loudly and pathetically of the want of Discipline. I am far from arguing now for a Rigid Conformity to the Ancients in every point of Discipline, but as to the main or Essence of it, I think it as plainly and expressly founded in Scripture, as Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; and that notorious Drunkards, Swearers, Adulterers, Murderers, and such like, should Communicate in all the Privileges of the Church, and that the Faithful shou'd familiarly converse with such infectious Persons; or that Excommunicates shou'd be restor'd to the Peace of the Church, without*

* Calvini Epist. & Responsa. pag. 336. Buc. de Anim. curâ.

PREFACE, Concerning the

any Proofs of their Amendment; this I take to be as clearly against the Letter of the Gospel, as Idolatry against the second Commandment.

'Tis objected indeed, That tho' Order and Discipline are necessary, and commanded in the Gospel, yet as to this or that particular Way or Form of Discipline, Churches are at Liberty. But to this I answer; had the Gospel commanded Discipline in general only, without question Churches then had been at liberty to have Regulated themselves as they judg'd most proper to their present Circumstances; but where the Apostles have interpos'd, and prescrib'd particular Rules of Discipline, and commanded the Observation of 'em over and over again in the Name of Jesus Christ, without the least intimation of Dispensation or Change; and which Rules moreover were strictly and universally observ'd by the Primitive Church for some Centuries; there, I say, 'tis not sufficient to have Discipline of another sort, but we must have the Discipline prescrib'd by the Apostles. For Instance, 'tis an Apostolical Order, and press'd in the Name of Jesus Christ, to withdraw our selves from every Brother that walketh disorderly: To note that Man, and have no company with him that he may be ashamed. I ask then, whether this Rule is not neglected now in this particular, and whether the neglect of it is justifiable, and such a disorderly Walker to be convers'd with, and cherish'd in the bosom of the Faithful? 'Tis an Apostolical Order, and constantly observ'd of Old, that scandalous Livers shou'd be debarr'd the Holy Mysteries. Is this Rule dispensable at pleasure, or practicable at present? 'Tis an Apostolical

stolical Order, That impenitent Sinners shou'd not only be debarr'd some Privileges, but quite cut off from the Christian Community, and not re-admitted till Satisfaction made to the Church, and good Proof of their Repentance. *Is this an Order pro hic & nunc only; or are Excommunication and Satisfaction to the Church, things to be mention'd now with safety? Or indeed have we any Office for the Re-admission of Excommunicates, which seems to be a Desideratum in our excellent Liturgy, and occasion'd purely by the want of Discipline? And lastly, the Administration of Church-order and Discipline was committed by the Apostles to the Bishops as their Successors, and by them to the inferior Clergy; they were the Persons Originally entrusted with the sole Power of judging in cases purely Spiritual, of inflicting Penances, Suspensions, Excommunications, and providing for Order and Decency in the Church of Christ: And thus was the Ecclesiastical Power exercis'd constantly in the first and purest Ages of Christianity. What the present Practice is, need not be told; and by what Authority, either from Scripture or Antiquity, such Ecclesiastical Politicks are erected, where Pastors and People act jointly, or where Church-Men have sometimes the least share in the spiritual Jurisdiction, is what I am at a loss to know. For where the manner of Government, and some particulars in Discipline are positively fixt by the Apostles, there we are not at liberty to alter.*

It has been likewise urg'd with Confidence enough, That by the Magistrate's turning Christian, the necessity of Church-Discipline is su-

perfected, and the Administration of it much safer in the hands of the Laiety than the Clergy, and that two Independent Powers in the same State are contradictory, and destructive of each other.

I readily grant that a Christian Magistrate, who beareth not the Sword in vain, but with a knowing Zeal draweth it against Evil-doers, in the Defence of those that do well, is highly Instrumental to the Glory of God, the Credit of Christianity, and the Good of his Country; I acknowledge freely also, that the Spirit of Reformation now moving upon the Hearts of many excellent Lay-Christians, and quickning them to the Execution of the Laws of the Land, and the Proclamations of her Majesty against Immorality and Prophaneness, is a mighty check upon disorderly Walkers, and has given a new Life and Resurrection to Piety and good Manners, and in some measure made amends for the lamentable Relaxation and Decay of Discipline; but then I must as freely own likewise, that the Laws of the State are not the Discipline of the Church; the Things of Cæsar, and the Things of God, are not under the same Predicament, but of a quite different Nature; each have their proper Boundaries and Restrictions. The Powers of Church and State are not, cannot be, two Sovereign independent Powers, with respect to the same Things, for this indeed would introduce perpetual clashing and confusion; but the Church has nothing to do to interfere or meddle in Affairs of State, it touches neither Life, nor Limb, nor Civil Property, nor disables any one from being a Member of the Commonwealth; and

there

therefore in its own Nature is not prejudicial to the Authority of the Civil Power. For all Christians by their own Law are expressly forbid to resist the Civil Magistrate under pain of Damnation; and in the full Height and Rigor of Discipline, when Church and State were at the utmost Variance, we find our Apologists thus acquitting themselves to the Senate upon this Article. Did you ever hear of any such thing as a Rebel-Christian? Had ever Caesar his Taxes paid more conscientiously, or was more faithfully serv'd in Peace or War than by Christians? Had ever Husbands better Wives, Parents better Children, Masters better Servants, than those who came over to the Faith? So that we find, that the Primitive Power of the Church in Regulating her own Members in Matters purely Spiritual, independently on the State, was so far in Fact at its first Institution from Intrenching upon the Civil Authority, that it advanced Obedience to Princes, and ev'ry Relative Duty to the highest Perfection, and secur'd 'em upon the Surest Foundation. As to the Objection against Church-Discipline in the Hands of the Clergy, (for the Clergy now a-Days are to be loaded with every Thing) drawn from the Accidental Abuse of it, 'tis meer Cant and Paralogism: For wou'd we deal fairly, we must argue from the Natural Tendency of such a Discipline in such Hands, and not from the Accidental Abuses of it. The Original Institution of Church Power is certainly in its own Nature Productive of great Temporal Blessings to any Kingdom; are the Clergy then of a quite different Constitution from other People? Are Men Intoxicated by Ordination, and

enter

enter into Covenant with Mischief, and Commence Tyrants by Turning Ministers of Christ? If not, where is the Force of this Argument against Discipline, from the Abuses of it in the Hands of the Clergy? What Things, I pray, are not subject to Abuses? the Worship of God, the Sacraments, the Scriptures, have been all abus'd; not one Office from the Scepter to the Constable's-Staff, but some time or other has been abus'd; and are all These then to be laid aside for fear of Corruption? if not, why is the Government of the Church to be wrested out of the Episcopal Hands for this Reason?

But this is not all, for the Question turns not so much upon the Nature of the Discipline, as the Authority of its Founder: For if Christ has set up a Kingdom of his own, perfectly distinct from that of Cæsar, and set apart his own Ministers, and lodg'd the Government in their Hands alone, with particular express Rules about Order and Discipline, and promis'd to be with them to the end of the World; and if Men will call this Government Tyrannical, it reflects directly upon the Founder; however 'tis a Tyranny of Divine Institution, and must be obey'd, be the Consequences of Obedience what they will. And if such a Form of Church-Government, and the Particulars of Discipline already mention'd, are not evident from Scripture and Church-History, 'tis in vain to argue any thing from either; if they are evident, then tho' Circumstances may be varied, yet as to Substance, they are Both Invariable, because of Divine Appointment; unless the Word of God can as evidently be produced for the Investing the Civil Magistrate with an entire Authority

thority in Spiritual Matters upon his Embracing Christianity; this then is the Point to be proved.

After all, what is this Tyranny, or Abuse of Church-Power, which is charged upon our Church? Why nothing but a Primitive Right of Proceeding against Notorious Sinners, either by Censure, Suspension, or Excommunication, according to the Nature of the Crime, and the Degrees of Obstinacy; and upon Hearty Repentance, to Receive 'em again. And is this any more Tyranny, than what the meanest Society pretends to over its Members, as well as the Church? without which, there will not in Time be so much as the Face of Religion, or the very Virtue of Hypocrisy left amongst us. Now that which I wou'd leave upon the Mind of my Readers from hence, is this; 1st, That we search the Scriptures, and the Primitive Fathers to know what Particulars in Discipline are appointed by God, and do what we can to have them Restor'd to Life again. 2dly, That we Consider seriously what the Reformation of Manners, and the Reputation of Christ's Church require farther in Point of Discipline, and herein Copy after the Ancients in what is most edifying. And, 3dly, That we take all the Care imaginable not to exceed the Bounds of our Commission, and intrench upon the Civil Prerogative, but persue our Orders as deliver'd in Scripture, and Understood and Practis'd by the First and Faithfullest Ministers of Christ; then shall we proceed upon the most warrantable Grounds, and be sure to Render unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the Things that are God's.

I have now done with the Three Things propos'd; viz. Concerning the Use and Authority of the Fathers; Concerning the Objections against them, and The ill Consequences of too lightly Departing from them.

And if I have prov'd the Ancients, incomparably the best Interpreters of the Divinely-inspired Writings; if I have done Justice to their injur'd Memories, or in some measure wip'd off the Dirt and Calumny of Ill-given Criticks; if I have expos'd the Tragical Effects of indulging our private fancies in Religion, and of surrendring up our selves entirely to the Conduct of clear Ideas in matters of Faith, without vouchsafing to consult those who were instructed by the Apostles. If I have gone out of the way a while, the deeper to imprint the Indispensibleness of the Primitive Discipline in some Particulars; and if these are but too seasonable Subjects in this Age of Licentiousness, where Men will be Christians without Baptism, and Priests of their own Ordination, and Eat and Drink at their own Tables in Remembrance of Christ, in the Nature of a Grace-Cup merely; Then I hope Digressions of this Kind may be Tolerable in such a Crisis; and that I shall not be condemn'd at least by the Lovers of Christian Antiquity, for being so Long in the Vindication of the best Men next the Apostles, and the best Books next the Bible. I was willing likewise to say what I cou'd, to infuse an Ambitious Warmth into the Younger Clergy of entring upon the Study of Divinity, with the Scriptures in Conjunctiön with the Fathers, and to Form their Notions, and Fashion their Minds by the Doctrine and Example of Christ

Christ and his Apostles, and the Noble Army of Martyrs; and not to take up, and quench their Thirst with the Corrupted Streams of Modern Systems; and the Publick, I'm sure, has nothing to fear from a Clergy so Initiated. For they will instruct their People in Primitive Holiness, and Primitive Obedience; They will have a just and knowing Zeal for the Unalienable Rights of the Christian Church, and a judicious Charity and Tenderness for their Dissenting Brethren; They will never preach up the Church into Secular Dominion, nor preach it down to a Kirk for the sake of Unity. They will do what is possible, according to the Apostle's Rule, to live peaceable with all Men; they will part with their Coat and Cloke also towards an Accommodation, but they cannot be so Comprehensive as to part with their Head; they cannot in duty to Christ and his Apostles, or in Respect to their Successors till of Yesterday, comply with an Ordination without a Bishop. They are ready to pay all Deference to the Moderns in Points of Philosophy, but can see no reason to depart from the Ancients in such Matters of Divinity, as they universally agree upon. And therefore I shall speak yet but once more in the behalf of the Fathers, and that too in the Words of Job, * Enquire, I pray thee, of the former Age, and prepare thy self to the search of their Fathers. For we are but of Yesterday, and know nothing. Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter Words out of their Heart.

* Job chap. 8. ver. 8, 9, 10.

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I
A

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE
TO THE
FIRST APOLOGY
OF
St. *J U S T I N*.

THE Life of *Justin* the Philosopher and Martyr, is drawn by so great a Master, and is in Truth, considering the Materials, such a finish'd Piece, that I may both ask and answer the Question in the Preacher's Words, *What shall the Man do that cometh after Him? Even That which hath been already done.* But not to afflict the Learned in saying over again, what has been so well said by our Excellent Dr. *Cave*, I shall take notice of what is too commonly omitted, not to say unjustly maintain'd by most Writers, to the Prejudice of this great Saint, and the Authority of all his Writings; I shall likewise touch upon what I judge most edifying and instructing, and what may conduce to set the following Apology in the best Light for an English Reader.

B

Justin

A Preliminary Discourse

Justin was a Native of *Neapolis*, a noted City of *Palestine*, within the Province of *Samaria*, anciently called *Sichem*, the Son of *Priscus*, and Grandson of *Bacchius*, a Grecian by Birth and Religion. In the Person of this Philosopher, when in his Gentile State, we have the Portraiture of a Man amaz'd and bewilder'd in Philosophy and the Wisdom of the World, and after ^a Searches and Researches, and tumbling from Sect to Sect, quite tir'd out in the Quest of God and Happinefs, and in the Condition of a benighted Traveller, full of Darknefs, full of Anxiety, not knowing how to stand still, nor which way to take, till happily meeting with a venerable ^b Old Man, he was led into the way of Truth, and directed to the Sacred Scriptures, where he found Rest to his Soul. No sooner had he light upon this Wisdom from above, *This one Pearl of great Price, but he went and sold all that he had and bought it* : ^c All the vain Treasures he had amass'd together from the *Pythagoreans*, *Peripateticks*, *Stoicks*, and even from his beloved *Plato*, he dispossefs'd himself of them all, as a Glorious Incumbrance only upon his Mind, and embrac'd the Foolishness of the Gospel and a Crucify'd Master, at the certain Expence of Life and every worldly Comfort ; the ^d best Philosophers he found had enrich'd themselves with the Spoils of Holy Scripture, and

^a See *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 219.

^b This Venerable Old Man is conjectur'd by some to have been an Angel, and if the Dialogue with *Trypho* be a real Dialogue, the Conjecture is not unreasonable ; for that *Justin* in this Solitude shou'd chance to meet with such a grave and wise old Man as could let him into the most mysterious Depths of the Christian Philosophy, and when he was conceited that Platonism wou'd soon lead him into the very Fruition of God, that he should be so easily convinc'd to lay aside the World and the Wisdom of it, and be so passionately in Love with the Gospel, looks altogether miraculous. *Vid. Memoires par le Sieur D. Tillemont. Tom. 2. p. 334.*

^c *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 224. c. 225.

^d *Apol. 1. Sect. 71.*

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that a poor Christian, who could not distinguish a Letter, could talk more sensibly of the Divine Nature than even *Plato* himself; and the Sweetness of their Temper, their universal Charity, and unparallell'd Patience, &c. spoke a thousand times more convincingly, than all the gilded Vapours of Philosophy, which glar'd in the Head only, but seldom reach'd the Heart, and excepting *Socrates*, never made a Martyr; for as *Zeno* was wont to say, he had rather see one *Indian* burnt, than hear a hundred fine Reasons for enduring Pain, so does our good *Justin* acknowledge that by Dint of Christian Passive Courage he was in a great measure wrought into Conviction.

When I read the manner of his Conversion, and hear the good old Guide saying what little Deference he had for his admir'd Sages, *Plato* and *Pythagoras*, ὁ δὲν ἐμοὶ μέλει Πλάτωνος, ὁ δὲ Πυθαγόρας, *Dial. cum Tryph. p. 224.* and sending him to the Scriptures only for Instruction; when I see the Martyr all on Fire with this Divine Philosophy, and his Passion for earthly Wisdom quite extinguish'd by this Heavenly Light, and confessing that the Christian was the only Philosopher; when again I hear him complain of the lamentable Reasonings and wretched Inconsistencies of Human Brain, and that nothing is to be depended on but the Divinely inspir'd Writings, *Paræn. ad Græc. p. 8, 9.* when I hear him say in his second *Apology*, *p. 152.* ὅτι ἐκ ἀλλότρια ἐστὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα καὶ Χρῆστος, that the Doctrines of *Plato* are not alien to those of *Christ*; and withal affirming in this, that *Plato* had all his Divinity from *Moses* and the Prophets; when I find this Christian Philosopher thus emptying himself of all his former Notions, and clearing his Mind of that Learned Lumber, I cannot but think that the Martyr has hard usage after all this Self-denial, to be still charg'd for indulging his Fancy, and Platonizing even in the great Articles of the Christian Faith. Reason good indeed, that *Daniel Zuicker* and

A Preliminary Discourse

his Brethren shou'd thus charge him, for he has too frequently and too expressly asserted the Divinity of the *Logos* and the Prophetick Spirit; and therefore as ever they hope to be credited, they must be sure to blast his Authority, and make him introduce the Trinity not from the Scripture, but the Schools; tho' the notorious Difference between *Plato* and *Justin* in this very Mystery, is in it self sufficient to justify him from Platonizing in Fundamentals, * if his Sincerity is not.

With as good Reason is *St. Justin* thus tax'd by these Hereticks, as *St. John* was by the Platonist *Ame-lius*, who upon reading the first Verses of his Gospel, cry'd out, *Per Jovem Barbarus iste cum Platone nostro sentit*, By *Jove* this Barbarian has been shirking from our Master *Plato*. The Author of the *Historical Vindication of the Naked Gospel*, lays about him terribly in his Preface against ' the Corrupters of the Primitive
' Purity of the Gospel with Pagan Philosophy and Pa-
' gan Ceremonies, and the Obtruders of the *Platonick*
' Enthusiasm upon the World for Faith, Mystery, and
' Revelation; he says, that *Platonism* was transported
' from *Greece* into *Egypt* and *Syria*, and there imbi-
' bed by the *Jews* in their Dispersion, and so came
' to be the current Opinions amongst 'em in the time
' of our Saviour and his Apostles, and this perhaps
' was the Occasion, as Learned Men observe, that we
' find such *Platonick* Phrases and Forms of Speech in
' the New Testament, and especially in the Gospel
' of *St. John*. Thus we have *St. John* himself charg'd
with *Platonizing*, because he has too positively asser-
ted the Divinity of Christ, and consequently the Holy
Ghost that inspir'd him is by the same Author accus'd
of Philosophizing from a Heathen, in an Article that
passes all Understanding; but 'tis the Glory of *Justin*

* See *Casaubon* severely animadverted upon by *Lancelius* for the same Charge in his Disputation annex'd to *Justin's* Works.

to be traduc'd by such Men, as will not stick to traduce an Apostle.

Thus much I thought my self oblig'd to premise in vindication of the Martyr, from an Imputation too commonly granted by good Writers, but always plead- ed by Hereticks in abatement to his Authority in the Doctrine of the Trinity, and which would be a Blot on his Integrity, a Blemish on all his Works, were it not false in Fact; and because I verily think that *Du Pin* and other great Criticks have not done our Author justice in this point: For certainly a Person so sincere in all his Dealings with God and Man, so humble and submissive in all his Reasonings, and so entirely Christian in Word and Deed, should not easily be granted to blend Christianity with *Platonism*, and to play the Philosopher in the most tremendous Mystery of the ever Blessed Trinity; and when he has so expressly re- nounc'd both the Riches and the Wisdom of the World, we may in my opinion as reasonably tax him with Co- vetousness, as *Platonism*.

This Orthodox and faithful Servant of *Jesus Christ* was at *Rome*, when the Persecution rais'd under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* began to break out, where he compos'd this Excellent *Apology* in behalf of the Christians: It is commonly called the Second, and as such plac'd in the Editions of his Works, but is now on all hands agreed to be the First; for *Eusebius* af- firms the other not to be presented till the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, and Successor of *Antoninus Pius*, wherein he foretels his own Death by the malicious Contrivance of one *Crescens* a Cynick Philosopher, whom he had convinc'd of Ignorance and Debauchery.

The Design and Subject of this *Apology*, is to lay before the Emperor, the Senate, and the People, the Injustice of their Proceedings against the Christian Sect: He tells them that they were hunted after with all the Sagacity of Malice, and when discover'd, most

inhumanly dragg'd to the Tribunal, and there against the known Rules of Equity, and without so much as the Formalities of Justice condemned; that the Judges inquir'd not into their Crimes, but their Religion; that the Name of Christian was Article sufficient for the worst of Deaths; that a Man might profess himself a Rebel, a Robber, a Murderer, or any thing, much safer than a Christian; that the Gods they worshipped were the Spirits of Dead Men, and Devils, and these were the prime Agents in their Ruin: He answers the Charge of Atheism by professing the Worship of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: He confesses indeed that they did not worship with such wasteful and expensive Sacrifices as they did; but what they lavish'd away upon vain Gods, the Christians laid out upon the Poor and Needy; that the Christian Sacrifices were Bread and Wine and Water only, wherein they agniz'd the Lord and Maker of all things, and commemorated the Death of Christ, join'd with the rational Service of Prayers, Praises, and Thanksgivings: He argues their Innocence from their Principles, and draws up a Summary of Christian Ethicks from the Gospel, and herein shews how far Christ has advanc'd Morality above the Standard of Philosophy, he proves their Practice agreeable to their Principles, that since they were Christians, they were new Creatures, they had quite another Situation and Turn of Soul, their Thoughts continually upward, and all their Projects upon a World to come, and they wanted Death only to put 'em in possession of God and Eternal Happiness; that their Religion had already made a glorious, but unbloody Conquest upon great part of Mankind, and by living up to their most Holy Faith they had liv'd their Enemies into Conversion, and happy wou'd it be for Kingdoms and Empires, did all Men believe and live as they did: He shews what little reason they had to object against the worshipping the crucify'd Son
of

of God, they who had such a Pack of *Jove's* Children both Sons and Daughters in Worship amongst themselves, many of which suffer'd Death, tho' not upon the Cross: He argues the Divinity of the Christian Religion from antient Prophecies; and tho' Prophecy in it self is an Argument unanswerable, yet has it a mighty accession of Force and Beauty, when address'd to a People who had the Fulfilling it, as in many cases the *Romans* had: He argues it likewise from the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles, and from the supernatural Progress it made ever since the poor Apostles departure from *Jerusalem*; and that, contrary to all other Sects, the Christians should encrease and spread from the Blood of their Hero's, and from their continual Success and Advancement by the strange unheard-of Arms only of Prayer and Patience. Towards the Conclusion of this Apology we have a Description of Two, and but Two, Sacraments in the Primitive Church, namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and a Summary of that Faith which was requir'd of Persons who came to be baptiz'd, which was not a bare Belief of this single Proposition, *That Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ or the Messiah*; but an explicit Profession of Faith in God the Lord and Maker of all things, and in *Jesus Christ* crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*, and in the Holy Spirit who spake by the Prophets, with a solemn Engagement to live as becometh the Gospel: He mentions also the joint Fastings of the Congregation and Competent, or the Person to be baptiz'd, for the Remission of his former Sins, and then he is led to a Pond of Water and immersed in the Form aforesaid. Then follows a Description of the Eucharist, the Administration of it in both Kinds by the Bishop, the Qualifications of a Communicant, the Heads of Common Prayers in which the People join'd, and in which they did not join, the Kiss of Charity, the sameness of the Elements after Consecration, and their conversion into

the Nourishment and Substance of our Flesh; the Collections at the Communion deposited in the hands of the Bishop, and for what Uses, with an account of their Assemblies upon the Lord's Day: Which Qualifications render this Apology one of the most considerable Records of Christian Antiquity, wherein we have the most Fundamental Articles of our Faith expressly asserted, the Sacrament administred to the People in both Kinds, our set Forms of Prayer justify'd, our way of Worship and Ceremony vindicated, to the Honour of the Church of *England*, to the Reproach of that of *Rome*, and to the Shame of all our Adversaries.

This Apology is the more valuable upon the score of its Antiquity; for the Author in his Epistle to *Diognetus* styles himself *a Disciple of the Apostles*, and *Photius* mentions him with this most honourable Character, ἀνὴρ ἔτε τῶν χεινῶν ὀπίρῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἔτε τῇ ἀρετῇ, *that he was a Man little behind even the Apostles themselves either in point of Time or Virtue*; so very little, that there is hardly the distance of fifty Years between *St. John's* Revelation and *St. Justin's* Apology; and if the Christian Faith liv'd not to these Years in its Original Purity, it came up and was cut down like a Flower, and liv'd not to the Age of Man; and if a Religion in which all the Sacred Trinity of Persons had their respective Charges, and for which the World had been forming from the Fall of *Adam* by a long Succession of Prophecies and Providences extraordinary; if a Plant thus planted by our Heavenly Father, and water'd by the Blood of his Son, and nurs'd up by his Holy Spirit; if such a Religion was so soon corrupted in its very Essentials, what must we think of Providence, and that Promise which says that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it? But if the Miracles done by the Apostles are an undeniable Argument for the Purity of the Faith in the Apostolick

Age, then the same Miracles done by their Successors, and in the same Name of the Crucify'd Jesus, are as good an Argument for the like Purity in the Ages following; and to the Power of ejecting evil Spirits in the Name of Jesus crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate* does *Justin* Martyr appeal in many ^s places; and *Irenæus* *Justin's* cotemporary, speaks, I think, as magnificently of the miraculous Gifts and Graces of the Church in his time, as I find any where in the New Testament concerning the very Age of the Apostles; ^b he says, that the Signs and Wonders wrought by Hereticks, were neither beneficial to Mankind, nor wrought in the Name of Jesus (which by the way were two good Rules to distinguish True from False) but by sacrificing to infernal Demons, and such like Magick Incantations; that the Miracles of the Faithful were always for the publick Good, and done in publick, and in the Name of Christ; They cur'd the Blind and Deaf, the Lame and Sick of the Palsie, and of any other Disease; They cur'd 'em by the same Ceremony as the Apostles did: viz. By imposition of Hands, by the same Fasting and Prayers, and by the same Invocation of the sacred Name of Jesus crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*; they rais'd the Dead, and that too (as he affirms) *sepiissime*, very commonly, which the very Apostles are seldom said to do, and the Persons so raised, did not just rise only, but liv'd and convers'd among 'em for many Years; they ejected Devils, they had the Gift of Prophecy, of Tongues, and discerning of Spirits, &c. These and many more miraculous Graces recounted by *Irenæus*, are not spoken of as things past and over, and such as he had receiv'd by hearsay only, but as the common Privileges of all the

^s *Apol.* 2. p. 45. *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 269. *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 254. p. 256.

ⁱ *Iren.* lib. ii. cap. 56.

Churches in his Time, such Miracles as, *per singulos dies in opitulationem Gentium perficerentur*, were done every Day for the Benefit of the Gentiles, such as he himself had seen and heard in the publick Assemblies of the Church, and which were confirm'd by the Testimony of the universal Church. I shall now leave it to any Man to judge, what Deference and Authority is justly due to the Writings of such Persons as liv'd and taught in this Season of Miracles, and sign'd their Doctrine with their Blood, as our *Justin* did; and whether the Church continued not in its Original Apostolick Purity in that Age, when all the mighty Works were done by the Successors, as were done by the very Apostles themselves.

As to the Genuineness of this Apology, tho' imperfect in some places either by the Negligence or Ignorance of Transcribers, yet has it always pass'd for the undoubted Issue of *Justin* the Martyr; *Eusebius* places it in the front of those Works of *Justin*, which were preserv'd till his Time, and withal adds, that he was a Person of such Authority with the Ancients, that *Ireneus* expressly quotes him by Name, in his 4th and 5th Book against Heresies, and I may add too that, he has transcrib'd from this very Apology almost word for word in his 3d. Book cap. 2. and so again, likewise in his 2d. Book cap. 56. and elsewhere; and how frequently *Tertullian* in his Apologetick has imitated this of *Justin*, the Reader will soon find; but to put the Matter beyond dispute, the Martyr himself makes mention of this very Apology in his Dialogue with *Trypho*.

In the translating, I made use of the Edition publish'd at *Oxford* by the very learned Dr. *Grabe*; and as to the manner of the Version, give me leave to say, that as I have not been so servily faithful on the one Hand, as to render word for word, so have I not

¹ *Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 18.*

been so much a Libertin on the other, as to run out into the Excesses of a Paraphrase, I have kept a strict Eye upon the Original, and been true to the Sense, Order, and Construction of the words, to the best of my Skill in that Language and my own; so that the meanest Reader may depend upon the Integrity of the Version, and he who designs to go thro' the Fathers in their Mother Tongue, will find himself much eas'd in his Travels, and much sooner at his Journey's End; and in the Study of Divinity not to begin with the Fathers, is not only an absurd Contempt of the best Men, and the soundest Christians, but is in effect to begin at the wrong end, and to study backwards; I found it unavoidable now and then, not to put in a word or two in order to illustrate the meaning of the Text, and to continue the Thread and Coherence of the Argument, for his Digressions are frequent, and his Periods and Parentheses sometimes of great length and obscurity; for as ^k *Photius* long ago observ'd, This great Man took little care in dressing his Thoughts, and setting off the Christian Truths with the Imbellishments of Art, and according to the Wisdom of the World; and therefore his Writings, though very learned, are not bright and sparkling, nor have they the Grace and Elegancy of polish'd Discourses. This Character is verifi'd throughout all his Works, which are extremely full of Citations both from sacred and prophane Writings, without Order, without Ornament; but to me there is a deal of Force and Beauty, if I may so speak, in this very Art of Disorder and Negligence, there is a strange Power in naked Truth, as strangely and as differently moving from that of formal Eloquence, as the pressing Cries of a Man in a Storm are from the Descriptions of a Poet; the Martyr writes like an honest Servant who is more concerned about the faithful Delivery of his

Message, than about Finery and Flowers of Rhetorick, he knew with *St. Paul* that *the Kingdom of God was not in word, but in Power*; I have therefore consider'd his way of Diction, and endeavour'd to make the Greek Father speak English worthy of himself, with Authority and Plainness, without any Pomp and Glitter of Expression, and to preserve not only the Sense, but the Spirit of my Author from evaporating in the Transfusion.

In my Annotations I have studiously avoided dry and barren Criticisms, nor have I interrupted and perplex'd my Reader with various Lections, nor cram'd him with the tedious Collections of *Langus* and *Kortholtus*, this, I confess, I speak in a kind of Indignation, because both these Annotators have never help'd me in time of need, and are for ever quoting, where one needs them not; *Dr. Grabe* lets in more Day upon an obscure Passage in four Lines, than is to be found in their whole Mass of Quotations; his Notes therefore, which are most edifying, I have interwoven with my own, and refer'd to those which are purely critical; I have very seldom departed from this judicious Person, and where I have, I have given my Reasons for so doing; I have likewise noted such Specialties, as have been excepted against in this Apology, and where I have been longer than ordinary, it has been either to vindicate this faithful Servant and Martyr of Jesus Christ from the Calumnies of Hereticks, and the Cavils of the Sons of Latitude, or else to set some Primitive Customs which are but just hinted at in a fuller Light for the Benefit of the Unskilful.

I have now nothing more to say, but only to desire the Reader to warm himself by this Fire, to fill his Mind with a just Idea both of the *Form* and the *Power of Primitive Godliness*. What a thing that was, he will have but a faint Notion of from the Writings, and a much fainter, God knows! from
the

the Practices of this degenerate Age; the First Christians wrote about Matters, their Hearts, as well as Heads were full of; they speak with the Passion and Sincerity of dying Men, and therefore we may reasonably expect more powerful and piercing Persuatives from a Professor in Flames than from one in Ease and Security.

And if this little Treatise in the Defence of Christians, shall in any wise contribute to revive the ancient Spirit of Christianity amongst us, and bring *old Moderation* into fashion, which was not a moderate Love or Lukewarmness for God and Religion, but a mighty tenderness for the Persons of Men, with a just Hatred of their Sin, and a most fervent Zeal for the great Articles of Faith, and the spiritual unalienable Rights of the Christian Church; if this I say shall contribute any thing to make Men live more lovingly, soberly, and godly, I have my end; nor shall I think my time ill spent in Translation, tho' less glorious in Opinion, but perhaps not less perplexing, than original Productions.

THE
FIRST APOLOGY
OF
St. *J U S T I N*
FOR THE
CHRISTIANS
TO
ANTONINUS PIUS.

I. **T**O the ^aEmperour *Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar*; and to his Son *Verissimus* the Philosopher; and to *Lucius* the Philosopher, the Natural Son of *Cæsar*, but the

^a From this liberal Inscription of Titles, you may see, that St. *Justin* was not of the same Spirit with our *Quakers*, in point of Salutation; for the understanding of which Inscription you are to take notice that the First named in it, is the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, the Adoptive Son of *Adrian*; the Second called *Verissimus*, is *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, the Adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*; the Third is *Lucius Verus* the Son of *Ælius Verus*, who had been *Cæsar*, and was the Adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*. The Titles here bestow'd by the Martyr were the most beloved ones; for the Family of the *Antonines* from *Adrian* to *Commodus* affected the Title of Philosophers, as much as that of Fathers of their Country, &c.

Adopted

Adopted of *Pius*, the Lover of Learning; and to the Sacred Senate, and to all the People of *Rome*; in the behalf of Men of all Ranks and Nations unjustly loaded with publick Odium and Oppression, ^b I *Justin* the Son of *Priscus* and Grandson of *Bacchius* Natives of *Flavia* ^c *Neapolis* of *Palestine* *Syria*, I who am one of this suffering Multitude, ^d humbly offer this Apology.

II. 'Tis the Voice of Reason, and ever attended to by Men truly pious and worthy the Name of Philosopher, that Truth alone is the thing to be had in the highest Honour, and to hold the first place in our Affections, and the Ancients to be follow'd not one step farther

^b Ἰουστῖνος Πρίσκου τῷ Βακχείῳ &c. *Jerome* in his Catalogue makes *Priscus* *Bacchius* the Father of *Justin*, and herein is followed by *Christophorson*, and by all the Versions of *Justin*, till That corrected by the Learned *Dr. Grabe*; but 'tis evident from the Construction of the Words, that *Priscus* was the Father, and *Bacchius* the Grandfather; for τῷ ὑπὸ φλαβίας being of the Plural Number cannot agree with Πρίσκου τῷ Βακχείῳ of the Singular, if it was but one Person. The Great *Du Pin* has taken up with this common Mistake, and the Ingenious Author of the Notes upon him has overlook'd it also; which I the rather wonder at, because the Excellent *Dr. Cave*, whom he is pleas'd sometimes to animadvert upon, wou'd have set him to rights in this matter in his most accurate Life of this Martyr. *Vid. Tom. I. Spicileg. Patr. Sæc. II. p. 134.* and *Vales. Notes upon Euseb. p. 66.*

^c This *Flavia Neapolis* anciently went by the Name of *Sichem*, a noted City of *Palestine* in the Province of *Samaria*, and from a Colony sent thither by *Flavius Vespasian* called *Flavia*. *Vid. Not. Vales. ad Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 12.*

^d Ἐπιλόγειν. *Valesius* in his Notes upon this Word in *Eusebius*, p. 66. says that ἐπιλύχθαι is to go and supplicate the Emperour either by a Petition in Writing or by word of Mouth, and so τὸ προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐπιλόγειν ποιεῖν are both included in this Version, whether it was deliver'd in Writing, or by word of Mouth, according to *Perionius*.

than

than they are Followers of Truth. The same right Reason dictates also, that we are not only not to strike in with any Sect of Men, unjust either in Practice or Principle, but moreover that a Lover of Truth must by all means, and before Life it self, and in defiance of all the Menaces of Death, choose to square his Words and Actions by the Rules of Justice, whatever it cost him: And whereas you wear the Glorious Titles of *Pious and Philosophers, and Guardians of Justice and Lovers of Learning*; tho' these, I say, are the darling Characters you affect to be distinguish'd by ev'ry where; yet whether you make 'em good or no, shall be seen by the following Discourse; for we come not here with a design to flatter, or ingratiate by the power of Fine Words, but we come in plain terms, to demand Judgment according to the strictest and exactest Rules of Justice; that neither Prejudice, nor the Vanity of getting into the good Graces of superstitious Men, nor blind Passion, or a scandalous Report which has so long prepossess'd you, might any longer prevail with you to pass Sentence against your selves by *condemning the Innocent*: For 'tis a Maxim among us Christians, that we cannot possibly suffer any Real Hurt, if we cannot be convicted of doing any Real Evil: *You may Kill indeed but you cannot hurt us.*

III. But

* *Τμῆς δ' ἀποκτείνει μὲν διωκόμενος, πλάττει δ' ἔτι.* In this Sentence I doubt not but our Martyr had reference to that of *Plato*, where we have the same Sense in almost the same Words, and in an

III. But that you may not look upon this as a senseless Bravado, or bold Flourish only, we pray the Charge against Christians may be examin'd into, and if upon examination the Allegations prove true, let 'em be punish'd accordingly, *or rather do you who are the Judges award the Punishment, and not leave it to the discretion of the Mob.* But if nothing criminal can be made out against us, you cannot surely judge it reasonable, to injure an harmless People barely upon an evil Report; tho' let me tell you, while thus you consult not your Judgment but your Passion in the distributions of Justice, you'll pull down the Mischief upon your selves which you are heaping upon us. Ev'ry Man of Sense must own it the fairest and most equitable way of Proceeding in Courts of Judicature, for the People to deliver in a just unexceptionable Declaration of their Words and Actions; and then for the Magistrates to proceed to Sentence, not as the Lust of Tyranny and Oppression pushes on, but as Piety and true Wisdom steer their Judgment. By this Expedient, happy will the Prince and happy will the People be who are in such a Case; for 'tis a Saying

an Apology: For thus *Socrates* tells the *Athenians*, ἐν γὰρ ἵσε ἔαν ἐμὲ ποικίλινετε τοῖσιν ὅντα οἷον ἐσὼ λέσας, ἐκ ἐμὲ μείζω βλάψετε ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν. ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐστὲν βλάψαι ἢ τε Μελίτῃ ἢ τε Ἀνσίτῃ, &c. *Plato's Apology of Socrates. Camb. Edit. p. 26.*

ἢ Μᾶλλον ἢ κολλάζειν. I have follow'd Dr. *Grabe's* Conjecture in the Version of these Words: But Dr. *Cave* translates 'em thus: *Nay, let 'em be more severely punish'd than other Men.* *Prim. Christiani: p. 82.*

of : one of the Ancients, *That till Magistrates and People both thus philosophize, the Body Politick will never be well.* Accordingly therefore it shall be my Business in the first place, to lay before the Publick a faithful Memorial of our Life and Doctrine, that we may not thank our selves for our Sufferings, which for want of due Information you may inflict upon us; but then remember, 'tis your Parts and Duties, according to the aforesaid Rule of Reason, to see, that when you have heard the Cause, you are found to judge righteous Judgment; for believe me, you will be without Excuse before God for the time to come, if after you understand the Christian Cause, you refuse a Christian Justice; the bare Appellation of a Name without any Fact falling under that Name, is looked upon as neither good nor evil; and as for our Name which is tantamount to a Crime against a Christian, if we are try'd upon that Article, we must certainly be acquitted as very good Men; but as we shou'd deem it unreasonable when convicted of real Crimes to plead a bare Name only in arrest of Judgment, so on the other side, if both with respect to our Name, and the Nature of our Polity, we are found altogether innocent, it lies at your Door to take care, lest by unjustly punishing a People convicted of no Evil, you your selves deservedly smart for such Injustice. Praise and Punishment

* *Platonis Lib.V. de Repub.* And it being a Saying also familiarly in the Mouths of these Emperors, it is the more pertinently made use of by the Apologist.

then cannot with reason be charg'd upon a meer Name, unless there be Actions either good or bad to justify the Charge; but 'tis very notorious that when any of your own Religion are brought to Trial, you never punish before you convict 'em; ^b but when a Christian is indicted, you snatch at the Shadow of his Name, for a substantial Crime; whereas wou'd you but give your selves leave to consider that Name, you wou'd find it more becoming to animadvert upon the Accusers, than the Accused; for ⁱ we are indicted by the Name of Chrestians, but now *χρηστος* is a word for kind or good; and such a word surely cannot be a just Foundation for Hatred; again, if any of the Accused retract the Name of Christian, you take him presently at his Word, and acquit him, as having nothing more criminal to charge against him; but he who has the Cou-

^b This is the general Complaint which runs thro' all the Ancient Apologies, that they were accus'd, condemn'd, and executed meerly for the Name of Christian; and this Name in truth was their Boast, their Ornament of Grace, the Chain about their Neck in which they glory'd above all the Titles here below; and therefore when the Champion *Attalus* was led about the Amphitheater in Scorn, he had a Tablet before him with this Inscription, *This is Attalus the Christian*, Euseb. Hist. lib. 5. p. 162. And when Christianity had well nigh subdu'd the World, *Julian* the Apostate set himself to banish this Name from the Face of the Earth, and always in Derision call'd the Christians, Galileans; and not only so, but made a Law, that they shou'd only be called by that Name. *Naz. Inveſt. in Julian. 1. p. 81.*

ⁱ The Ignorance and Malice of persecuting upon the account of this Name, you'll find in *Tertullian*, cap. 3. *Lactan.* lib. 4. cap. 7. our Saviour is called *Chrestos* by *Suetonius*, in *vita Claudii*; but *Tacitus* who liv'd in the same Age with him, is right in the Name both of Christ and Christians. *Quos vulgo Christianos appellabat*, and then adds, *Auctor nominis ejus Christus.* *Tacit. Annal. lib. 15.*

rage to stick to the Profession of his Name, is certain to suffer for so doing; when the Life of the Professor, and the Non-professor both ought to be the Subject of your Inquiry, that the Merits of both might be manifested by their Actions.

IV. ^k But as some Disciples have so learn'd their Master Christ, as to witness a good Confession, and when put to the Question have by their Christian Bravery so wrought upon their Enemies as to win 'em over, if not to embrace the Faith, yet at least to admire it; so on the contrary, others by not living up to their Holy Profession, have given occasion to the dissolute part of Mankind to blaspheme Christianity in general for their sakes; but neither is this right, for many among you put on the Name and Habit of a Philosopher, whose Lives are not of a piece with their Dress, or suitable to their Profession, and you know very well, that there have been those who have held and propagated Opinions contrary to the Ancients, and yet have all been cloath'd alike with the

^k The Lives of the Primitive Professors were one of the greatest and most sensible Arguments, that by degrees subdu'd the Heathen World to Christianity; this was the Motive that work'd upon our *Justin*, he saw prodigious Sufferings and prodigious Patience, he saw that their Principles were above the Standard of the best Philosophy, and what they taught, they liv'd, and consequently that such good People must have good reason for what they did and suffer'd so extraordinarily, — *I thought with my self* (said he) *that it was not possible for such Persons to wallow in Vice and Sensuality, it being the Interest of the wicked and voluptuous to avoid Death, to dissemble with Princes and Magistrates, and to do any thing to save their Skins.* And this from a Platonick brought him over to be a Christian. *Apol. 1.* according to the *Cologne Ed.* p. 50.

Name of Philosopher ; nay, there have been Professors of Atheism, and your Poets have very liberally indulged their Muse upon the Uncleanneſs of *Jove* and his Family, and the ſucceeding Wits who tread in their Steps, and eſpouſe the ſame Opinions, are ſo far from being taken up and proſecuted, that you aſſign 'em publick Penſions and Honours for thus ſweetly expoſing your Gods.

V. Why then may not we Chriſtians meet with a little of this good Uſage, we who will give Security not to do any Harm, or to harbour any Opinions that have a real Tendency to Atheiſm ? But you hold not the Scales of Juſtice even, for inſtigated by headſtrong Paſſions, and driven on alſo by the inviſible Whips of evil Dæmons, you take great care we ſhall ſuffer, tho' you care not for what ; for ¹ verily I muſt tell you, that heretofore theſe impure Spirits under various Apparitions went into the Daughters of Men, and defiled Boys, and drefs'd up ſuch Scenes of Horror, that ſuch as enter'd not into the Reaſons of Things, but judg'd by Appearance only, ſtood aghaſt at the Specters, and being ſhrunk up with Fear and Amazement, and never imagining 'em to be

¹ This he alſo repeats in his other Apology ; and how current this Opinion was before and after the time of *Juſtin*, you may ſee in the Notes *ad Spicileg. Patr. Sæc. 1. p. 369.* They concluded theſe evil Spirits to have a finer ſort of Body which was reſreſh'd from the Nidours and Steams of the Sacrifices, and from the amazing Power they exercis'd up'n Mankind, together with a miſtaken Paſſage in Scripture, as I have ſhewn in my Notes upon *Tertull. cap. 22.* aroſe this Opinion.

Devils, call'd 'em Gods, and invok'd 'em by such Titles, as every Devil was pleas'd to Nick-name himself by. When *Socrates* therefore, by dint of true Reason, diligently apply'd himself to bring these hidden Works of Darknes to Light, and to rescue Mankind from the Impositions of Devils, then these very Devils struck in with Men of the same black Spirit and delight in Mischief, to^m get *Socrates* taken off for an ungodly wicked Fellow and an Introducer of new Demons; the same Train have they laid against us, and are working our Ruin with all their might; for not only *Socrates* employ'd his Share of Reason among the *Greeks*, to argue 'em out of these Impostures, but even the very *Logos* or Reason it self took upon Him the Form and Nature of a Man to destroy the same Kingdom of Darknes among the *Barbarians*; upon whose Word it is, that we aver these *Demons* to be not only not good, but evil and abominable Spirits, whose Actions Men of any Affection for Virtue would be ashamed to imitate; and for this worshipful Rea-

^m That when *Socrates* was setting up the worship of one God at Athens, one Article of *Melitus* against him, was, that he was "Atheist, and an Introducer of strange Gods, see the aforementioned Apol. of *Plato*, p. 18. and in what Sense *Socrates* and other virtuous Philosophers are said to have been Partakers of the Divine *Logos* I will shew hereafter. I keep to the Term *Logos* in the English, because I think it less ambiguous, and more expressive of the Personality of the Son of God than barely the Word, as we render it in *St. John*; and because *Justin Martyr* is thought to be something particular, as you'll see anon, in the Explanation of it.

son is it that we are branded with the Name of ⁿ Atheist.

VI. And thus far we frankly confess the Charge, that with respect to the Gods in worship among you, we are Atheists, but far otherwise in respect of the most true God, the Father of Righteousness, Purity, and ev'ry Virtue, a God infinitely remov'd from the least mixture or spot of Evil; Him and His only begotten Son, (who ^o has instructed us in what I just now mention'd concerning these evil Spirits, and likewise acquainted us with another Host of good and Godlike ministring Spirits) Both these, I say, together with the Spirit,

ⁿ Christianity was called *The Atheism*; and by the Emperor *Julian* is seldom call'd by any other Name. And thus *Lucian* ranks the Christians with Atheists and Epicureans. *Pseudomant*, p. 828. Tom. 21.

^o Καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλων, &c. *Bellarmin, Petavius*, and other Doctors of the *Romish Church*, have notoriously play'd the Jesuite upon this Passage, and forc'd *Justin* to speak for the worship of Angels in this manner, by the help of a Comma after ταῦτα;—*God and his Son who has thus taught us, and the Host of good Angels, and the Spirit who spake by the Prophets, we worship, &c.* So that here we have the Third Person in the ever blessed Trinity to be worshipped in the fourth Place after the Angels; but to see how knavishly they have dealt with our Author in this Place, and for a fuller Explication of the Words, I refer to the excellent Bishop *Bull* in his *Defens. Fid. Nic.* p. 70. whose Sense I have follow'd, but *Dr. Cave* translates it thus, *Him and his only begotten Son, (who instructed us and the whole Society of good Angels in these Divine Mysteries)* *Prim. Christianity* p. 13. And for this Sense is *Dr. Grabe* in his Annotations. It appears indeed from the Apostle's Caveat in his Epistle to the *Colossians*, that Angel-worship crept into the Church very early, but it was always cry'd out against, and at last publicly condemn'd by the whole *Laodicean Council*, Can. 35. and besides you will quickly find *Justin* in this very Apology saying, that *God only is to be worship'd*; and repeating the Trinity of Persons as the Object of Worship, without any mention of Angels.

who spake by the Prophets, we worship and adore, and our way of worshipping is ^P in Spirit and Truth; and as we have been taught, so are we ready to communicate the same freely, to every one that is willing to learn.

VII. But perhaps 'twill be objected, that some Christians have been taken up and convicted as Evil-doers: well, I'll grant the Objection and more, not only that some, but many, and at many times, have been thus duely convicted upon a fair Tryal; but then I must tell you again, that you condemn'd not the Persons aforesaid as Criminals, but as Christians. Moreover, we confess that as all the Sects in general among the *Greeks* went under the common Name of Philosopher, tho' extremely different in Opinions; so ^Q truly among the *Barbarians*, the Professors of this new Wisdom, whether in reality or Appearance only, go all by the same Title, and are denominated Christians; wherefore we pray that all those who are indicted by the Name of Christian, may be examin'd as to their Actions, and that every Person convict may suffer as an Evil-doer, and not as ^R a Christian; and if he be found not guilty, that he may be discharg'd as a Christian, who has done nothing worthy of Punish-

^P Λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, I translate Spirit and Truth, according to that of St. John, in πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, to which Sylburg says they allude.

^Q Clemens Alexandrinus often calls the Jews, *Barbarians*; and Epiphanius calls Christianity, *The Barbarism*, Lang.

^R And not as a Christian, in allusion to that of St. Peter, 1 Pet. cap. 4. v. 15.

ment. And as to our false Accusers, far^r be it from us to desire you to punish 'em, their own painful Wickedness, and utter Ignorance of all that's good and amiable, is Punishment in abundance.

VIII. I cou'd wish you wou'd take this also into Consideration, that what we say is really for your own Good, for 'tis in our Power at any time to escape your Torments, by denying the Faith when you question us about it; but^t we scorn to purchase Life at the Expence of a Lye; for^v our Souls are wing'd with a Desire of a Life of eternal Duration and Purity, of an immediate Conversation with God the Father, and Maker of all Things; we are in haste to be confessing and finishing our Faith,

^r Οὐ γὰρ τὸ κατ'ἡγορέηντας καλᾶζεν ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσομεν] This relates to the Rescript of *Adrian* subjoin'd to this Apology, where-
in severe Penalties are threatned to the false Accusers of Christians.

^t Mental Reservation was a thing unknown to the Primitive Christians, they look'd upon a Lye as bad in all, but monstrous in a Christian, as being a Renunciation of that Truth to which they had engag'd themselves in Baptism, and therefore would not lye to save their Lives. Accordingly *Tertullian* rejects the Motion of saving Life by equivocating with the utmost Scorn and Contempt, *Ap. c. 27.*

^v A Christian, says *Tertullian*, thanks his Judges for condemning him. *Apol. cap. 46.* And when *Lucius* was charg'd by *Urbicius* for being a Christian, because he offer'd to speak for one he thought had hard measure, he immediately confess'd the Charge, and was forth-with condemn'd, and thank'd his Judge for so doing. *Just. Mar. Apol. 2. p. 43.* And when *Arrius Antoninus*, Proconsul of *Asia*, saw the Christians voluntarily come thronging to Execution, he order'd some few only to be executed, crying out to the rest—*O unhappy People, if you have such a mind to dye, have you not Halters and Precipices enough to end your Lives with, but you must come here for Execution.* *Tertul. ad Scap. c. 4. p. 71.* So certain their Hopes, and so strong their Passions for the Enjoyments of the other World.

being

being fully persuaded that we shall arrive at this Beatifick State, if we approve our selves to God by our Works, and exprefs our Passion by our Obedience for that divine Life which is never interrupted by any clashing Evil. But to lay before you in short, what we expect, and what we have learn'd from Christ, and what we teach the World, take it as follows: *Plato*^w and we are both alike agreed as to a future Judgment, but differ about the Judges; *Rhadamanthus* and *Minos* are his Judges, Christ ours. And moreover we say, that the Souls of the Wicked being reunited to the same Bodies shall be consign'd over to eternal Torments, and not as *Plato* will have it, to the ^x Period of a thousand Years only; but if you will affirm this to be incredible or impossible, there is no help but you must fall from Error to Error, till the Day of Judgment convinces you we are in the right.

IX. But we cannot vouchsafe to worship with numerous Victims, and ^y Garlands of Flowers,

^w Πλάτων δὲ ἐμολῶς] *Vid. Plat. in Gorgia Tom. 1. Edit. Serrani pag. 524. & in Apol. Socrat.*

^x Οὐχὶ χιλίων ἑξῆς αἰῶνων] *Vid. Plat. Timæum p. 42. Tom. 3. Edit. Serran.* This Passage of *Justin* is exprefs for the Eternity of Hell Torments, and is a clear Comment upon that Place of *Justin* in his *Tryph.* where this Eternity of Torments may seem doubtful.—Αἱ δὲ (ψυχῶν) κολαζόντες' ἑς' αὖν αὐτὰς καὶ ἔτι, καὶ κολαζέσκει, ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. *Dial. cum Tryph. 223.*

^y Ἀλλ' ἔτι θεοίαις πολλαῖς καὶ τιμωαῖς ἀνθρώπων] The Primitive Christians startld at every thing that had but the least symbolizing with the Heathen Idolatry; they looked upon the very making of Idols without any design to worship them as an unlawful Trade, and inconsistent with Christianity. *Tertull. de Idolat. c. 6. p. 88.*

Flowers, the Work of Mens Hands, what you must help into the Temple, and being so plac'd think fit to dub 'em Gods; for we know 'em to be senseless inanimate Idols, and in nothing resembling the Form of God, (for we cannot conceive God to be any wise like what is drawn to represent and honour him by) but in Imitation only of those evil Spirits who have impos'd upon the World under such Titles and Apparitions. But what need I mention to such knowing Persons, as you are, how the Artists manage the Subject Matter of their Gods, how they hack it and hew it, and cast it and hammer it, and not seldom from Vessels of Dishonour, by changing their Figure only, and giving 'em another turn by the help of Art, out comes a worshipful Sett of Things you call Gods. This we look upon not only as the highest flight of humane Folly, but as the most injurious Affront to the True God, who is a God of Glory and Form ineffable, thus to transfer his incommunicable ^z Name

The Council of *Ancyra* condemn'd those to a two Years suspensio from the Sacrament, who sat down with their Heathen Friends upon their Festivals in their Idol-Temples, tho' they touch'd not one bit that was offer'd to the Idol. *Can. 7.* Nay, if a Christian did but wear a Garland (a thing usually done by the Heathen Priests) he was excommunicated for two Years; nay, if he did but go up to the Capitol to see the Gentile Sacrifices, and did not see them, he was punish'd as if he did. *Concil. Illiber. Vid. not. Albaspin. Can. 55. p. 69. Can. 59. p. 71.* happy had it been for Christendom had this Aversion to Idols continu'd to this Day.

^z "Ὁς—ἐπνομιάζει"] To this purpose we find in the Book of Wisdom, cap. 13. and cap. 14. v. 21. *They did ascribe unto Stones and Stocks the incommunicable Name.*

upon

upon such corruptible and helpless things, as Wood and Stone. Besides, the Artificers of what you worship, are the lewdest of Men, and not to mention Particulars, practis'd in all sorts of Wickedness, as you your selves are very sensible of; Men who debauch the Girls while they are helping 'em to make your Gods. O Stupidity of Men as Thunderstruck! that ever you should let such Beasts have an Hand in making your Gods, and put them and the Temples which hold 'em, under the Protection of such Villains, never reflecting what an execrable Crime it is, either to think or say, that Men have the Care and keeping of the Gods!

X. And while we look upon God, as the Giver of all good Things, we can never think he stands in need of the material and gross Oblations of Men, but we are taught, and most firmly believe and know, that they only are the acceptable Worshippers of God, who form their Minds by the Mind Eternal, and express it in Temperance, Justice, Humanity, and such other Virtues as are the essential Excellencies of the Divine Nature, or the more proper inmost Perfections of Him, who is a God^a unnameable; and this Almighty Being so good
in

^a *A God unnameable*] This is a Title we have more than once in this Apology, and is very frequent in the other Writings of this Martyr; particularly in his first Apology according to the vulgar Editions,—ὄνομα δὲ τὸ πᾶσι πασι θετὸν ἀσυνήτῳ ὄντι, ἢ ἔστιν, &c. p. 44. In these and the Words following, *Justin* teaches that God the Father and the Son have no proper Names, but Appellations only, which we give them upon the account of their good Works

in himself, made all things in the Beginning for the good of Man, out of a Chaos of rude ill-favour'd Matter; and they who walk according to his Will, and demonstrate their Worthiness by their Works, we are sure will be admitted into the Divine Presence, there to reign with him, where Corruption and Suffering never come. For as he created us at first, when we were not, so by the same Power will he restore us to Being again, and Crown with the mortal Enjoyment of himself, such as have made it their Choice to please their Maker; for tho' we had no Choice in our Creation, yet in our Regeneration we have; for God persuades only, and draws us gently in our Regeneration, by co-operating freely with those rational Powers he has bestow'd upon us. And we are verily of Opinion, that it wou'd be for the Interest of all Men living, not only to tolerate the Learning of the Christian Faith, but to give it all the publick Encouragement possible; for that inward conscientious discharge of our several Duties, which humane Laws can never reach, the Wisdom which is from above wou'd bring about effectually, were it not for those false and atheistical Accusations which are sow'd about the World by Diabolical Spirits, who take Advantage to strike in with that original Sin and

Works and Actions, &c. and the Reason he gives for this Assertion is this, That the unbegotten God being eternal, and his Son eternally coexisting with the Father, there could be none before them to impose a Name upon them.

Proneness

Proneness to all Evil that reigns in our Nature, and which is sure to enter into Confederacy with them, but of all their Accusations we are intirely Innocent.

XI. But upon the first Word you hear of our Expectations of a ^b Kingdom, you rashly conclude it must needs be a Kingdom upon Earth, notwithstanding all we can say, that 'tis one in Heaven, and tho' you have such an experimental Proof to the contrary from our professing our selves Christians upon examination, when we know Death to be the certain Consequence of such a Profession; but were our Thoughts fixt upon a Kingdom of this World, we wou'd surely deny our Religion for the Safety of our Lives, and have recourse to all the Methods of Concealment, to secure us in a whole Skin against that good Day we expect. But since our Hopes do not fasten upon things present, the Preservation

^b The Primitive Christians were so warm'd with the Expectation of a Kingdom in the Heavens, that they did little else but prepare to dye, and took the first Opportunity they cou'd of getting out of the World; and being continually discoursing of, and comforting one another with the Hopes of this Kingdom, were overheard by their Enemies, and falsely accus'd as Treasonable Affectors of the Empire, when alas (as *Justin Martyr* here assures the Emperors) they meant nothing less, and what contributed very much to this Passion for Death, was an Opinion they generally had of the Day of Judgment being near at hand, a terrible Day which they earnestly pray'd they might not be Spectators of; this Opinion was started early, as appears by that Caution given by *St. Paul* to the *Thessalonians* about it, 2 *Thessal.* cap. 2. v. 3, 4; and it lasted for some Ages after, as is evident from several places in *Tertullian*, *de cult. famin.* lib. 2. c. 9. *ad uxor.* lib. 1. c. 5. which I mention here once for all because the Reader will meet with this Opinion in the Apologies before him.

of our Lives is the least of our Concern, because we know our Murtherers can cut us short but a few Days, for all must dye.

XII. I must tell you likewise, that of all Men living we are the greatest Promoters of Peace, and bring you in the most powerful Auxiliaries to establish it in your Dominions, by teaching that 'tis impossible for any Worker of Iniquity, any covetous or insidious Person, any one, either Vitious or Virtuous, to hide himself from God ; and that every one is stepping forward into everlasting Misery or Happiness according to his Works ; and if all Men were once fully possess'd with a Notion of these things, who wou'd make the bold Adventure to embrace the Pleasures of Sin for a Season, with his Eye upon Eternal Fire at the end of the Enjoyment ? who wou'd not strive all he cou'd to check himself upon the brink of Ruin, and to adorn his Mind with such Virtues as might give him Admission to the good things of God, and secure him from everlasting Vengeance ? But as to the Penalties of your Laws, Offenders are not so careful about lying hid from them, because they know you to be but Men, and therefore possible to be put upon, and upon the score of that Possibility are encourag'd to sin on ; but were they fully perswaded of the Impossibility of concealing any thing from God, not only the Works of their Hands, but even the Motions of their Minds, the direful Storm of Wrath they see just dropping upon their Heads, wou'd

wou'd needs make 'em prepare with all speed for a better Course of Life, as you your selves will grant.

XIII. But you seem to be afraid, that such a Notion of God's Omniscience shou'd force every one to be good, and so quite and clean spoil the Trade of Punishing; Executioners perhaps may be afraid of this, but pious Princes surely never can; but such Fears, I am verily persuaded, are the Suggestions of evil Spirits, who get their Sacrifices and Worship by exacting upon the Follies of wicked Men; but you who set up for *Pious and Philosophers* will not, we suppose, be drawn into the same unreasonable Practices; but if you, like other weak People, will be born down with the Iniquity of the Times, and make Truth give place to Custom, do your worst; (but such wicked Princes as have no Regard for Truth, can do no more than Robbers in a Desert) for the *Logos* has declar'd you shall not thrive long in your idolatrous Course; that *Logos*, who next to God his Father, we know to be the Supreme and Justest of Kings, and above all the Principalities and Powers in Nature. For as all Men are shy of taking up with Poverty, Suffering, or Disgrace, meerly for the sake of Custom; so is ev'ry Person of Sense equally unwilling to do, what Reason declares is not to be done, *notwithstanding it has the Plea of Custom for its Practice.*

XIV. Our Master Jesus Christ, from whom we take the Name of Christians, the Son and ^c Apostle of that God, who is the Supreme Lord and Maker of the Universe, has foretold our Sufferings; which to us is a manifest Confirmation of the Truth of all his other Doctrines, because we see these things fulfill'd according to his Prediction; for this or nothing is the Work of God, To declare a thing shall come to be, long before it is in Being, and then to bring about that Thing to pass according to the same Declaration.

XV. And now I might spare my self the Trouble of saying a word more, considering the Truth and Justice of our Proposals; but because I am sensible how difficult a Task it is for Men bowed down with aged Ignorance, to be set straight in a Moment; and for a farther Satisfaction to the Lovers of Truth, I shall enlarge in its Defence, knowing it not impossible, to get the better of Ignorance by setting Matters in a fuller Light,

XVI. In the first place then, 'tis certain we cannot justly be branded for Atheists; we who worship the Creator of the Universe, not with Blood, Libations, and Incense, (which we are sufficiently taught He stands in no need of) but we exalt Him to the best of

^c *Ἀπόστολος*.] Christ is called the Apostle of God from his being sent by him into the World, and is so styled, *Heb. 3. 1. Consider the Apostle and High-Priest of our Profession, Christ Jesus.*

our Power with the ^d rational Service of Prayers, and Praises, in all the Oblations we make unto Him; believing this to be the only Honour worthy of Him, not to consume the Creatures which He has given us for our Use and the Comfort of those that want, in the Fire by Sacrifice; but to approve our selves thankful to Him, and to express this Gratitude in the rational Pomp of the most solemn ^e Hymns at the Altar in Acknowledgment

^d Λόγῳ ἐυχῆς καὶ ἐυχαιρίας.] What the Latin Translator means by his *Oratione Precum ac gratiarum actionis*, I cannot well tell; but I think he can by no means be right in the Translation of these words, the Sacrifices of old, both of Jew and Gentile, were offer'd in a corporeal way, by Slaughter, Fire and Incense, but the Sacrifice of Christians is, offer'd only *λόγῳ ἐυχῆς καὶ ἐυχαιρίας*, by way of Prayer and Thanksgiving, as Mr. Mede translates these words, p. 358. So that according to this learned Person, these words are to be understood of the Manner of Offering; the Bread and Wine the Matter of the Christian Sacrifice, are offer'd *λογικῶς* Spiritually; which the Fathers in the first Council of Nice call *ἀθύτως θυεῖσθαι*, to be sacrificed without sacrificing Rites: And this Sense is farther confirm'd by what follows, where Justin argues against the gross way of the Gentiles sacrificing, by consuming in Fire what God made for our Nourishment. Ὅση δυνάμις] which I translate, to the best of our Power, I take notice of only by the by in this place, because I shall have occasion to explain it more fully hereafter; only I believe the impartial Reader will hardly conceive this Passage to be a good Proof for extemporary Prayer.

^e Πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνες.] Dr. Grabe observes that the word Πομπή often signifies that publick Pomp and Pageantry which was exhibited at the Heathen Sports; and from hence concludes that 'tis translated hither to signify those Prayers which are recited with more than ordinary Solemnity at the Celebration of the Eucharist. The mention of Hymns in this Place, and not one word of 'em in that, where Justin is giving an Account of their way of publick Worship, is a plain Argument that he did not design to acquaint them with every Particular they did at their religious Assemblies, for there is no doubt but singing of Psalms was a part of Divine Service, and as a main Part too mention'd by Pliny in his Letter

ment of our Creation, Preservation, and all the Blessings of Variety in Things and Seasons; and also for the hopes of a Resurrection to a Life incorruptible, which we are sure to have for asking, provided we ask in Faith. Who that knows any thing of us, will not confess this to be our way of worshipping? And who can stigmatize such Worshippers for Atheists? The Master who instructed us in this Kind of Worship, and who was born for this very purpose, and crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*, Procurator of *Judea*, in the Reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, is Jesus Christ, whom we know to be the Son of the true God, and therefore hold him the second in order, and the ^f Prophetick Spirit the third, and that we have good Reason for worshipping in this Subordination, I shall shew hereafter. For here they look upon it as downright Madness, to assign to a Crucify'd Man the next Place to the

to *Trajan*,—*Secum invicem canere*—They sang Psalms together, or alternately, or by Turns; for so perhaps the Words may signify: These Psalms were partly *David's*, partly extemporary Raptures while Inspiration lasted, or set Compositions taken out of the Holy Scriptures, or of their own composing, as you'll find in *Tertul. Apol. cap. 39.* and this continu'd till the Council of *Laodicea* order'd that no Psalms compos'd by private Persons shou'd be recited in the Church. *Can. 59.*

^f Here again you see the Sacred Trinity of Divine Persons mention'd in their Order, and the Prophetick Spirit in the third Place; which evidently shews that the Interposition of Angels Sect. 6 must be looked upon only as in a Parenthesis, and that St. *Justin* no more intended those Ministering Spirits for the Objects of Christian Worship, than he intended they shou'd take Place of the Holy Ghost in the Order of Worship.

Immutable, Eternal God, * Parent of all things, being entirely in the dark as to the Mystery of this Order; and therefore I advise you to give diligent Attention, while I expound it to you.

XVII. But first I am to caution you against those Spirits, which I have already accus'd for practising upon you, that they do not delude and pervert you from reading and understanding what I am now proposing to your Consideration; (for to hold you in Slavery and Bondage is the Prize they contend for, and sometimes by Visions in Sleep, sometimes by magical Impostures, they make sure of all such as are little concern'd about their Salvation) I cou'd wish you wou'd follow our Example, who by the Persuasions of the *Logos* have revolted from these spiritual Wickednesses, and come over to the Obedience of the only unbegotten God, thro' his Son Jesus Christ. We who heretofore gave our selves a loose to Women, now strictly contain with-
in

* The Reader will find in this *Apology* God continually called *ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν πάντων*, and *πατὴρ τῶν πάντων*, *Maker of all Things*, and *Father of the Universe*; and therefore he is desir'd once for all to take notice, that our Author repeats this Attribute so often, because some Hereticks in his time deny'd God to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and he expressly mentions *Marcion* for one, Sect. 35. who taught another God greater than the Creator of the World.

† *Ὁ δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν*, &c.] This wonderful Change in Manners is often appeal'd to by the Primitive Converts; and that Men so long bent to Lust and Passion shou'd be set upright in a Moment, I look upon as a Miracle in Morality; for nothing but the mighty Grace of God, and the brightest Hopes of future Happiness, cou'd prevail with all sorts of Men thus to embrace

in the Bounds of Chastity; We who devoted our selves to magick Arts, now consecrate our selves entirely to the good unbegotten God; We who lov'd nothing like our Possessions, now produce all we have in common, and spread our whole Stock before our indigent Brethren; We who were pointed with mutual Hatred and Destruction, and wou'd not so much as warm our selves at the same Fire with those of a different Tribe, upon the account of different Institutions, now since the Coming of Christ cohabit and diet together, and pray for our Enemies; and all our Returns for Evil are but the gentlest Persuasives to convert those who unjustly hate us; that by living up to the same virtuous Precepts of Christ, they might be filled with the same comfortable Hopes of obtaining the like Happiness with our selves, from that God who is the Lord of all Things.

XVIII. But before I enter farther into the Explication of the Christian Mysteries, it will not be amiss to give you a Taste of the very Doctrines deliver'd by Christ himself to shew that we are no Cheats, nor have any Design to trick upon you in this matter, and I shall leave it to you to examin, as Princes who are well able, whether this is not the very Doctrine of Christ, and the same we preach

brace the Christian Faith at the certain Expence almost of their Lives; and from the bitterest Enemies, and the lewdest of Men, to become the most loving, forgiving and chastest People in the World,

to the World. His Discourses are short and sententious, for he was no trifling Sophister, *but Christ the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God.* Thus then he has deliver'd himself concerning Chastity; ^h*Whosoever looketh upon a Woman to lust after her hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart before God. And if thy right Eye offend thee, pluck it out, it is better for thee to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven with one Eye, rather than having two Eyes, to be cast into Hell Fire. And whosoever shall marry her that is divorc'd from her Husband committing Adultery. And there are some which are made Eunuchs of Men, and some who have made themselves Eunuch for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake, but all cannot receive this Saying.* ⁱ So that

Matt. 5. 29,
28. 18. 9.

Matt. 5. 32.
19. 9.

Matt. 19.
11, 12.

^h "Ὁς ἄν ἐμὲ λέξῃ.] In Scripture-Quotations you are to observe that Justin does not tie himself to the very words of the Text, but their Sense only.

ⁱ In times of Persecution very many Christians abstain'd from Marriage, to be free from the Cares of the World, and more expeditious in the Service of God and their Brethren; and those who married, did it (as our Martyr elsewhere says) only for the sake of Children, and the bringing them up in the Christian Religion; but the First Fathers were extremely severe against second Marriages, looking upon them but as a better Kind of Adultery; and by the Apostolical Canons such as engag'd in second Marriages after Baptism, were made incapable of any Degree in the Ministry; however this Severity is much abated, if it is to be understood (as some say it is) of such only as had two Wives at once; for we are told by a learned Person, that there were three sorts of Bigamy, the first, a Man's having two Wives at once, this was condemn'd by the Roman Laws; the second, when the former Wife being dead, the Man married a second time; a third, when for any slight Cause a Man put away his Wife by a Bill of Divorce; which was but too frequently done, and allow'd by the Laws of those Times, but condemn'd by the Church; and of this last sort of Bigamy, many of the ancient Canons are to be understood.

See Justinell. Not. in Can. I. Conc. Laod.

such

such kind of second Marriages of Persons divorced ; and the very looking upon a Woman to lust after her, which are not criminal by humane Laws, by our Master's Laws are Adultery ; for not only the Adulterer in Fact, but in Will, is condemn'd by Christ: And for good Reason, because the inward Desires, as well as the outward Actions, are equally manifest to God. And I can produce abundance of both Sexes, who have from their Childhood ^k been discipled unto Christ, and liv'd in a constant Course of spotless Virginity to sixty or seventy Years of Age ; and I cannot but glory in being able to produce so many Instances of Christian Purity out of ev'ry Nation. But why shou'd I go about to muster up a numberless Multitude of such, who have taken leave of their Intemperance, and came over to the Christian Institution ? For Christ called not the Just, and

^k Οἱ ἐκ παιδων ἐμαθὴν δ' Ἰησ.] This Passage I think is hardly capable of being wrested to signifie less than the Baptism of Children; for the Martyr speaks of such as had been *discipled* unto Christ from their Childhood, and this *Discipling* we know was by Baptism, *Matt.* 28. 19. where we have the same word μαθησάμενοι and these Disciples he says also continu'd Virgins all their time, which is another Argument of their being baptiz'd from their Childhood ; but above all, the opposing these Children to such as had chang'd from Intemperance, and consequently were Men, and converted and baptiz'd upon a due Consideration of the Christian Principles: This Opposition, I say, makes it plain to me, that he meant such Persons as were discipled into Christ, before they were capable of learning the Christian Doctrine by Instruction. Now this Apology is not fifty Years younger than St. *John's* Revelations, and if a Person of *Justin's* Learning and Curiosity was able to know such a plain matter of Fact as Baptism, and if the Martyr had Sincerity enough to declare it ingenuously, then I take this to be a very strong Proof for Infant-Baptism.

Temperate, but the Impious, Incontinent, and Injust to Repentance, according to his own
 Matt. 9. 13. Saying, *I came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance*, for our heavenly Father delights not in the Correction, but the Amendment of Sinners.

XIX. Concerning the Duty of universal
 Love, he thus teaches; *If ye love them which love you, what do ye more than other Men? For Sinners do the same. But I say unto you, pray for your Enemies, love those that hate you, and do good to them which curse you and despitefully use you. Concerning giving Alms to the Poor, and against vain Glory in doing 'em, he commands thus; Give to ev'ry one that asketh, and from him that wou'd borrow turn not away. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive again, what Thank have ye? Do not Publicans the same? Lay not up for your selves Treasures upon Earth, where Moth and Rust doth corrupt, and where Thieves break through and steal; but lay up for your selves Treasures in Heaven, where Moth and Rust doth not corrupt. For what is a Man profited, if he shall gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul, or what shall a Man give in exchange for his Soul? Lay up for your selves therefore Treasures in Heaven, where neither Moth nor Rust doth corrupt; Be ye kind and merciful as your Father is kind and merciful, who maketh his Sun to rise upon Sinners, on the Evil and on Good. Take no Thought what you shall eat or what you shall put on, are you not much better than Birds and Beasts? And yet God taketh care of them,*

Matt. 5. 44,
46.
 Matt. 5. 42.
 Luk. 6. 30,
34.
 Matt. 6. 19,
20.
 Matt. 16,
26.
 Luk. 9. 25.
 Matt. 5. 45,
48.
 Matt. 6,
21, &c.

them. Be not therefore solicitous what you shall eat or wherewithal ye shall be cloathed, for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things; but seek ye the Kingdom of God, and all things shall be added unto you. For where your Treasure is, there will your Heart be also. Take heed that ye do not your Alms to be a Spectacle to Men, otherwise ye have no Reward of your Father which is in Heaven.

Matt. 6. 21.

Matt. 6.

1, &c.

XX. Concerning Patience, Submission and Meekness, these are our Master's Rules. ¹ *Who-soever shall smite thee on thy right Cheek, turn to him the other also, and him that taketh away thy Cloke, forbid not to take thy Coat also. Who-soever is angry with his Brother without a Cause shall be in danger of Hell-fire; whosoever shall compel thee to go a Mile, go with him twain. Let your Light so shine before Men, that they may see your good Works, and glorifie your Father which is in Heaven. A Christian Hand must by no Means be lifted up in Resistance; for Christ will not have his Disciples like the rest of*

Matt. 5. 39;

40.

Matt. 5. 22

Ibid. v. 16

¹ *Who-soever shall smite thee on thy right Cheek, turn to him the other also.*] Isidore the Pelusiote upon this Passage, Ep. 127. l. 3. p. 269. has so truly express'd the Primitive Spirit, and the Turn is so engaging, that I will not ask Pardon for setting it down. The King of Heaven (says he) came down to instruct the World in the Laws of an Heavenly Conversation, which he has propos'd in a way of Conflict, quite contrary to that in the Olympick Games, for There he that fights and conquers, wins the Garland, Here he that is beaten and bears it with Patience, receives the Crown; There he that is smitten and returns Blow for Blow, Here he that turns the other Cheek is celebrated the Victor, in the Theatre of Angels; for the Christian Victory is measur'd not by Revenge but Patience: This is the new Law of Crowns, this the new way of Conflict and Contention.

the World, but orders them to shine with a distinguishing Patience and Meekness, and to win Men over from their Sins by such gentle Arts of Conversion. And I cou'd give you a Proof of the Influence of such bright Examples from many Converts among us, who from Men of Violence and Oppression were transform'd into quite another Nature, perfectly overcome by the Passive Courage of their Christian Neighbours, or by observing the new astonishing Patience of such injured Christians as they chanc'd to travel with, or the Experience they had of their Fidelity in their Dealings.

XXI. Concerning swearing not at all, and a perpetual Regard to Truth in all our Communication, he thus ordains: ^m *Swear not at all, but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of Evil.*

^m Some of the Ancient Fathers from this Text, *Swear not at all*, held the taking of an Oath unlawful; but far the greatest part of them were of another Opinion, and interpreted this Prohibition, of swearing by the Creatures, (which was the Case of the Jews, and which our Saviour and St. *James* principally aim at, and which is countenanced by the Text when rightly pointed) and of vain rash and false Swearing. It wou'd be well indeed if the Honesty of Christians now-a-days did supersede the Necessity of Oaths, and that their Majesty was not prostituted by their Multitude, and the Meanness of the Occasion; but that 'tis lawful to take an Oath, we have our Master's Practice, who answer'd upon Oath; and St. *Paul's* often calling God to Witness, to justify the Thing, and the Military Oath taken by the Christian Soldiers, puts it out of doubt; the Form of which is thus set down by *Vegetius* an Heathen, viz. *They swore by God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and the Majesty of the Emperor, which next to God is to be lov'd and honour'd by Mankind.* And this you'll find exactly agrees with the Account given long before of the Christians by *Tertullian* Apol. c. 32.

Concerning

Concerning the Worship of God only, he thus appoints: *This is the first Commandment, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve, with all thy Heart and with all thy Strength,* the Lord thy God which made thee. And a certain Person coming to him, and addressing him in these Words, *Good Master,* he return'd him this Answer, *There is none good but God only, who made all things.* Matt. 4. 10.
Matt. 19.
16, 17.

XXII. But those now, who are found not to make his Precepts the Rule of their Lives, are to be looked upon as no Christians, let them say never such fine Things of his Law; for 'tis not the Sayers, but the Doers that shall be justify'd. *Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven. Whosoever heareth these Sayings of mine and doeth them, heareth him that sent me. Many will say unto me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drank in thy Name, and done Wonders? and then will I say unto them, Depart from me, ye that work Iniquity. Then shall there be wailing and gnashing of Teeth, when the Righteous shall shine forth as the Sun, but the Wicked shall be turned into everlasting Fire. Many shall come to you in my Name in Sheeps Cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves. Ye shall know them by their Fruits. But every Tree that bringeth forth not good Fruit, is hewen down and cast into the Fire.* Matt. 7. 21.
Ibid. v. 24.
Matt. 7. 21.
Matt. 13.
42, &c.
Matt. 7. 15,
16, 19. But Christians in Word only, who talk these Precepts, but live 'em not, such we beg may smart for their Hypocrisie.

Matt 22.
17, &c.

XXIII. Asⁿ to Tribute and Custom, no Men living take such Pains to pay their Collectors so faithfully as we do, who pay 'em in Obedience to our Lord's Command; for when some came to him with this Question, *Is it lawful to give Tribute unto Caesar or not? Tell me* (says he) *whose Image this Money bears? they say unto him Caesar's, then saith he unto them, render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* Accordingly therefore we render unto God^o only the Tribute of divine Worship, and to you a cheerful Obedience in all things else, acknowledging you to be Emperors and Rulers upon Earth, and withal^p praying, that Imperial Majesty may be always found in the Company of true Wisdom. But if neither our Prayers, nor all our Contributions for the Good of the Publick, will touch you with any Concern for Christians, we shall be no Losers; for we believe, or rather are fully assur'd, that ev'ry

▪ To this purpose *Tertullian* argues, *Apol. c. 42.* that tho' they wou'd not pay Taxes for the Maintenance of the Heathen Temples, yet they made sufficient amends for this, in their faithful Payments of all the rest. The Truth is, the primitive Christians were strictly conscientious in every thing, but in nothing more (as you will find in these *Apologies*) than in what related to the Publick, and concern'd their Duty and Obedience to Rulers and Governors, and those too very often the worst of Men.

° *Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν.*] We worship God alone. Angels therefore not to be worshipped, and Christ and the Holy Ghost which are worshipped, consequently God.

ᵑ *Tertullian* likewise *Ap. c. 39.* tells us, 'Twas a solemn part of the Church in his time, to pray for the Happiness and Prosperity of the Princes under whom they liv'd. And the Church of *England* is so truly primitive in this Point, that her Liturgy has been thought too much clogg'd with Prayers for Kings.

one according to his Demerits shall suffer in eternal Fire, and shall give a strict Account to God in Proportion to the Power he is intrusted with, as Christ has declar'd, *For unto whomsoever God has given much, of him shall be much required.* Luk. 12. 48.

XXIV. Turn back your Thoughts upon the past Emperors, and you'll find they all dy'd like other Men; and cou'd you but discover One, to be in a State of Insensibility, you wou'd make a welcome Discovery to the wicked World; but since¹ all departed Souls continue in Sensation, and everlasting Fire is treasur'd up for the Unrighteous, let me advise you to look well about you, and lay these things seriously to Heart. For even² Necromancy, and the Inspection of the Entrails of sound Children, and the calling out the Souls of dead Men, and what the Magicians term Dream-senders and Familiars, and many other Practices of

¹ Here we have two things expressly asserted by *Justin Martyr*; One, that all departed Souls are in a State of Sensation, against *Dr. Comward's* Notion of their being in the same senseless State with the Body, till the Resurrection; the Other, that all the Wicked whatsoever shall suffer eternal Torments, against the learned *Mr. Dodwell*, in his *Epistolary Discourse*, proving from the Scriptures and the First Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal, &c.

² The several Species of Magick you'll find mention'd by *Tertulian* Ap. c. 23. the Sum of what he drives at in this Section, is, to prove the Immortality of human Souls from the Practice of Magicians, in raising up, and conversing with departed Spirits; the Inspection of the Entrails of young Children, supposes that the Souls of these Children stood by and assisted the Inspectors in the Revelation of things to come; for a more particular Account of this horrid Practice, and for the meaning of the Words *ὄνειροπομοί* and *παιδεσται*, I refer the more learned Reader to *Dr. Grabe's* Notes upon this Apology.

the Dealers in this Black Art, may induce you to believe that Souls after Death are in a State of Sensation; and moreover those ^f Persons who are violently caught up, and dash'd down again by departed Spirits, and who pass among you all for Dæmoniacks and mad, and likewise the *Amphilochian*, *Dodonaean*, *Pythian*, and other like Oracles, and also the Doctrines of many of your Writers, such as *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and *Socrates*, and *Homer's* Ditch, and *Ulysses's* Visit to the Infernal Shades, and their Confabulations with him. These, I say, all argue the Immortality of human Souls, and several others of the same Opinion about Spirits with our selves, with whom we desire the like Treatment, as having not a less but a much greater Faith in God, than they ever had, being under a full Expectation of being restor'd to these Bodies, after they are dead and rotten, because we know that with God nothing is impossible.

XXV. And truly what to any considering Person would seem more incredible, were it not that we our selves are in a Body, than to be told, that 'tis possible for Bones and Nerves, and Flesh to be spun out from a seminal Drop, into such a thing as we see Man to be; I speak this by way of Hypothesis; supposing, I say, before you were in the state you now are, and

^f Such were the two Dæmoniacks in the Country of the *Gergesenes*, who came out of the Tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no Man might pass by that way, Matt. 8. 28. and from their dwelling only among Tombs, these Spirits were concluded to be the Souls of dead Men.

generated of such Parents, any one shou'd come and shew you this seminal Drop, and the Picture of Man, and withal aver it to be possible for such a Creature to rise out of such a Principle, which of you would think it credible, before he saw the Production? Not one, I dare say, would deny it to be impossible. In the same manner you are now possess'd with a disbelief of a Resurrection, because you never saw a Person rise again from the Dead: But as at first you wou'd not believe it possible for this little speck to work it self into a Man, tho' now you see it true in Fact; so ought you to conclude it as practicable for Humane Bodies cover'd in the Earth, and dead like Seed, to spring again in their Season at the Almighty Word, and put on Incorruption. But how suitable such a Power is to God which those cut out for him, who affirm ev'ry thing to depart into that original Matter from whence it came, and after that Departure to be gone for ever, and irrevocable even beyond the Call of God himself; whether this, I say, is a becoming Notion of Almighty Power, I will not now enquire; but this I will venture to say, that these Gentlemen would never have believed it possible that themselves and the whole World cou'd have been what they now find they are, and from such Principles.

XXVI. ^c But we have justly presum'd it the
most

^c This great Philosopher and Christian Martyr was so far from thinking with our modern Reasoners, that his Faith ought to go

most rational, to believe what may seem inconsistent with the Nature of things, and to Men impossible, rather than stand out and imitate others in a foolish Infidelity, especially
 Luk. 18. 27. since our Master Christ hath taught us, *That the things which are impossible with Men, are possible with God; and likewise given Orders not*
 Mat. 10. 28. *to fear them that kill the Body, and after that have no more that they can do, but fear him who after he hath killed, is able to destroy both Soul and Body in Hell.*

XXVII. Now Hell is that Place where the wicked Livers, and such as disbelieve the Revelations of God by Christ, shall suffer; and the *Sybil*, and *Hystaspes* have both given out that this whole System of Corruptibles shall be destroy'd by ^u Fire; nay, the *Stoicks* have a Conceit, that God himself shall be resolved into Fire, and that there shall rise a new World refin'd from the Ruins of the old; but we conceive far more honourably of God, than to range the Creator of the Universe among things subject to Alteration.

XVIII. If then we hold some Opinions near of Kin to the Poets and Philosophers in greatest repute among you, and others of a diviner Strain, and far above out of their Sight, and

no farther than *Clearness and Connexion of Ideas*, that he thought it reasonable, and becoming finite Minds, to believe beyond the Ken of mortal Eye, and to conclude that possible to God, which to us might seem impossible.

^u *Esse quoque in Fatis reminiscitur affre tempus,*

Quò Mare, quò Tellus, correptaque Regia Cœli

Ardeat, & mundi moles operosa labore. Ovid. *Metam.* Lib. I.

have

have Demonstration on our side into the Bargain, why are we to be thus unjustly hated, and to stand distinguish'd in Misery above the rest of Mankind? For in saying that all things were made in this beautiful Order by God, what do we seem to say more than *Plato*? When we teach a general Conflagration, what do we teach more than the *Stoicks*? When we assert departed Souls to be in a State of Sensibility, and the Wicked to be in Torments, but the Good free from Pain and in a blissful Condition, we assert no more than your Poets and Philosophers. By opposing the Worship of the Works of Men's Hands, we concur with *Menander* the Comedian, and such as affirm the Workman to be greater than his Work; and by declaring the *Logos*, the First-begotten of God, our Master Jesus Christ to be born of a Virgin without any humane Mixture, and to be crucify'd and dead, and to have rose again and ascended into Heaven; we say no more in this, than what you say of those whom you style the Sons of *Jove*.

XXIX. ^v For you need not be told what a Parcel of Sons, the Writers most in Vogue among

^v The Kingdom of Darknes had well-nigh overcast the whole World, when the Sun of Righteousness rose upon it, the Worship of false Gods obtain'd every where but among the Jews, and this universal Idolatry being one of the greatest Obstructions to the Light of the Gospel, and the prevailing Sin of these times, the Reader must be content to find the first Christian Apologists very large upon this Head, in order to root out this pack of Vanities, and to ridicule and argue 'em out of the World; and because the Worship of a crucify'd Man, was that which they mostly stuck at, *Justin* makes a Parallel, and shews that this Christ, the God of

mong you, assign to *Jove*; there's *Mercury*, *Jove's* Interpreter, in Imitation of the *Logos*, in worship among you, and your grand Teacher; there's *Æsculapius* the Physician smitten by a Bolt of Thunder, and after that ascending into Heaven; there's *Bacchus* torn to pieces, and *Hercules* burnt to get rid of his Pains; there's *Pollux* and *Castor*, the Sons of *Jove* by *Leda*, and *Perseus* by *Danae*, and the Mortal *Bellerophon*, who fell from his *Pegasus*; not to mention *Ariadne*, and others like her, translated into Constellations, according to your Writers. Moreover, I would fain know, why you always deifie the departed Emperors, and have a Fellow at Hand to make Affidavit, that he saw *Cæsar* mount to Heaven from the Funeral Pile? Nor can I think there is any need of repeating to such Knowing Persons, the Extravagancies recorded of every Son of *Jove*, only to put you in Mind that they are recorded for the better corrupting and improving young Students in the Arts of Debauchery; for every one thinks it noble to equal the Gods in Wickedness. But far be it from Men of Sense to harbour such Opinions of the Gods, namely, that their *Jove* the Supreme, and Father of all the Gods, should be a Parricide, and the

Christians, neither as the Son of God, nor of a Virgin, nor as a crucify'd Man, could justly be objected against, and deny'd divine Worship, by those who had so many Sons and Daughters of *Jove*, and such too as suffer'd Death, in constant Worship amongst themselves. But this kind of Idolatry being now quite out of Doors, I shall not trouble the Reader with any Notes upon the Gods of the Heathen, as thinking it altogether unedifying, and therefore, once for all, refer the more Curious to the Remarks of Dr. *Grabe*, in his Edition of this *Apology*.

Son of a Parricide, and be captivated by the vilest Lusts, and descend upon *Ganimede*, and a Crew of notorious Adulteresses, and beget Children after his own Likeness. But as I have said, these are the Stratagems of wicked Spirits; whereas we teach, that such only should be crown'd with a blessed Immortality, who have imitated God in Virtue, and those who have liv'd wickedly, and not repented to the Amendment of their Lives, we believe shall be punish'd in Fire everlasting.

XXX. As to the Son of God call'd Jesus, shou'd we allow him to be nothing more than Man, yet the Title of the Son of God is very justifiable upon the account of his Wisdom; for is not God stil'd by your own Writers, *Father of Gods and Men*? But now if we say that the *Logos* of God is properly the Begotten of God, by a Generation quite different from that of Men, as I have already mention'd, yet even this I say is no more than what you might very well tolerate, considering you have your *Mercury* in worship under the Title of the Word and Messenger of God. As to the Objection of our Jesus's being crucify'd, I say, that Suffering was common to all the foremention'd Sons of *Jove*, but only they suffer'd another kind of Death; so that Christ does not seem at all inferior to them upon the Score of the Difference of his Suffering, but much superior even in this very respect of his Passion, as I shall prove in the following Discourse, or rather indeed have proved already; for the Excellency of ev'ry one is to be judg'd of by

the Nature and End of his Actions. As to his being born of a Virgin, you have your *Persens* to balance that; as to his curing the Lame and the Paralytick, and such as were Cripples from their Birth, this is little more than what you say of your *Æsculapius*.

XXXI. But in order to make it more plain, that whatever we have declar'd from Christ and his preceding Prophets, is true and older than any of your Writers, and that we desire to be believ'd, not because we deliver many the same things with them, but because we deliver the Truth and nothing but the Truth, and that Jesus Christ alone is properly the Son of God, as being the *Logos*, and First-begotten, and Power of God, and by his Counsel was made Man, and taught these Doctrines for the Conversion and Restoration of Mankind, before whose coming in our Flesh these same evil Spirits by their Instruments, the Poets, dress'd up Fables to represent these things as already past and over, on purpose to defeat the good Designs of his Coming; just such another pack of scandalous wicked Lyes they have at present invented to render Christians odious, for which they cannot produce one Witness, nor any thing like Proof, as I shall presently make appear.

XXXII. But first, I cannot but take notice that tho' we hold some Opinions like those of the *Greeks*, yet the Name of Christ is the only thing we are hated for, and tho' never so innocent, yet we are dragg'd to Execution like Criminals; while others in other Places
have

have the Liberty of worshipping Trees, and Rivers, and Mice, and Cats, and Crocodiles, and many other such like silly Animals; nor do the same things neither pass universally for Deities, but different Countries different Gods; insomuch that they charge each other with irreligion, for not worshipping the same Deities; and yet, forsooth, the only thing you accuse us for, is, for not worshipping the same Gods, for not offering Libations, and the Nidors of Fat, and plaited Garlands, and Victims to departed Spirits; and you need not be told, that the same Deities obtain not every where, for what serves some for a God, serves others for a Sacrifice.

XXXIII. I must tell you in the next Place, that we Christians out of all parts of the World, who formerly were Worshippers of the Sons of *Semele* and *Latona*, *Bacchus* and *Apollo*, whose abominable Amours and Practices with Men 'tis a Shame to mention, and who ador'd *Proserpina* and *Venus*, a Brace of Goddeses, whose Mysteries you now celebrate, one stark staring mad for *Adonis*, the other ravish'd by *Aidoneus* or *Pluto*; we who ador'd *Æsculapius*, or any of those who pass among you for Gods, now through Jesus Christ have them all in the greatest Contempt, tho' at the utmost Peril of our Lives; but dedicate our selves to the Service of the Unbegotten Impassible God, who never had, we are sure, any Affair with *Antiope* and such like, nor any thing to do with *Ganimede*, nor ever stood in need of the help of the hundred-handed Giant, which your *Jove*

is said to have obtain'd at the Suit of *Thetis*, nor ever solicitous to shew his Gratitude for his Deliverance, that her Son *Achilles* shou'd have ample Satisfaction for being depriv'd of his Harlot *Briseis*, and revenge the Affront at the Expence of many of the *Grecians* Lives. We heartily pity those who can believe such Stuff about the Gods they worship, but we know that the wicked Spirits are at the bottom of all these Impostures.

XXXIV. Thirdly, 'Tis notorious that after Christ's Ascension into Heaven, these same accursed Spirits furnish'd out a Sett of Men, who gave out themselves to be Gods; and yet were you so far from punishing such Villains, that you did 'em the greatest Honour. For *Simon*, a certain *Samaritan* of the Village *Gitthon*, who in *Claudius Cæsar's* time, by his Magick Arts with the Powers of Darkness, did such wonderful Feats in the Imperial City of *Rome*, that he gain'd the Reputation of a God, and accordingly is honour'd by you, like your other Gods, with a Statue erected upon the *Tybur*, between the two Bridges, with this Latin Inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, To^w Simon the Holy God. And the *Samaritans*, almost in general,

^w *John Daille*, in his *Abuse of the Fathers*, (for that ought to be the Title of the Book) instead of recommending the Authority of such Men, who liv'd so near the Apostles, both in point of Time and Virtue, instead of insisting upon their general Agreement in Articles Fundamental, and other truly admirable and edifying Excellencies in their Writings; this Author, I say, chiefly pleases himself in picking Holes, and exposing, what he calls Faults, in the best Light for a malicious Eye; like an ill-natur'd Painter, who draws a Shade over all the Beauties of a Face, and mainly employs his

general, tho' very few of other Nations, confess and worship him as the first and principal God; and a certain *Helena* who strolled about with him at that time, and had been a common Prostitute in the Stews, they intitle the
next

his Pencil to magnifie Scars and Pockholes; and this Passage, among others, he has pitch'd upon for the Discredit of *Justin Martyr*. The good Father, says he, (in his fleeing way) was mistaken, and instead of *Semoni*, read *Simoni*, and for *Sanco*, *Sancto*; whereas our learned Criticks now inform us, it was only an Inscription to one of the Pagan Demi-Gods, *Semoni Deo Sanco*. The learned Dr. *Grabe*, who is just the Reverse of *John Daille*, and employs his Learning to keep us upon the ancient bottom, and justifie the Fathers from the Errors of Transcribers, yet even he is of Opinion that our *Justin* was impos'd upon in this Inscription, and *Valesius* himself concludes so likewise; and the main grounds they go upon, is, that in the last Age there was a Statue dug up with this Inscription, *Semoni Sango Deo Fidio Sacrum*; if this shou'd be a Mistake of our *Justin*, it is no great matter; but 'tis a Mistake wherein *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, *Austin* all concur. But when I consider that our Martyr himself was a *Samaritan*, and liv'd in the next Age, that he was a Person of great Learning and Gravity, of a Genius wonderfully inquisitive about Matters of this Nature, that he was at this time at *Rome*, where ev'ry one, no doubt, cou'd inform him (if he had not Latin enough for the Inscription) what strange God this was the Statue of, as easily, as any one about *London* cou'd tell now whose the Statue is at *Charing-Cross*; that he presented this Apology to the Emperors and Senate of *Rome*, to whom he wou'd be careful what he said, and not in two different Places insist upon the same thing, and press for the demolishing of this Statue, which if not the Statue of *Simon Magus*, must needs be resented as a bold and notorious Fable, and have a very ill Effect upon his Apology and the Christian Cause. When I consider these things, I say, they weigh much more with me on the side of *Justin*, and the other Fathers, than a Conjecture merely grounded upon the Statue lately dug up, does against them. Moreover, we learn from *Baronius* and *Gruter* that there were other Statues to this *Semoni Sango* in several Places of *Italy*, besides that in the *Tiberine* Island, and so the Fathers could not be easily mistaken about this Pagan Demi-God; and *Laſtantiſ* and St. *Austin* expressly mention this *Sangus* as the God of the *Sabines*; and the Christian Writers do likewise affirm, that the Statue of *Simon Magus* was erected by publick Authority, whereas this to *Sangus* was of private Donation by *Sextus Pompeius*; the Statue of *Sangus* was

next Intelligence to him; and one *Menander* likewise, a Samaritan, of the Village *Capparetea*, and a Disciple of *Simon*, set on work by the same *Demons*, and residing at *Antioch*, impos'd upon many by the same Magick Arts, as we very well know, and wrought up his Followers into a Persuasion that they should never * dye, and there are some of his Sect who are possess'd with the same Frenzy to this Day.

XXXV. There is one *Marcion* also of *Pontus*, who at this time instructs his Disciples, in the Doctrine of another God, greater than the Creator of the World, and who, by the Assistance of evil Spirits, has spread this Poison so effectually about every Nation, as to prevail upon many to subscribe to the Blasphemy, and deny the Maker of the Universe to be God, professing another greater Deity, and a Creator of greater Worlds; and yet all this sort of Men go by the Name of Christians, as I have already said; just like the Philosophers, who tho' they differ never so much in Principles, yet all take upon 'em the common

of Stone, that of *Simon Magus* of Brass. So that here we have two Statues of different Materials, and with different Inscriptions, and yet they must be one and the same, because the Fathers are to be discredited. Unless therefore *Daille* and *le Clerk* can prove that the *Tiberine* Island could not hold two Statues, they prove nothing to the Purpose; but some Men never think they make a good Figure but when they stand upon the Ruins of Christian Antiquity. See this Matter fully clear'd, in a Book call'd *Defensio S. Augustini adversus Joan. Pheroponi Animadversiones*. p. 176.

* A Doctrine much perhaps of the same Complexion with what Mr. A—— ill breach'd lately, tho' not, I believe, with the same Success of Followers.

Title of Philosopher. But ^y whether these Hereticks are really guilty of those cursed and scandalous Actions, which are industriously spread abroad about Christians, such as putting out the Candles, and promiscuous Copulations,

^y Because the Reader will meet with this horrid Charge against Christians in all these Apologies, of promiscuous Mixtures, and devouring an Infant at their Meetings, I think it will not be impertinent in this Place to acquaint him with the Grounds of such false and malicious Accusations. *Origen* fathers 'em upon the Jews, as if they had invented them on purpose to bring Christianity into Disgrace, and these Lyes (saith he) succeeded so well, that even some in his time wou'd not hold the least Conversation with a Christian; but tho' the Jews had Malice enough to invent any thing to the Prejudice of Christians, yet I can hardly be persuaded that all this was pure Lye and Invention without any ground. We know that in the most early times of the Gospel, there were several sorts of Hereticks, such as *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Marcion*, *Marcus*, *Basilides*, &c. who all cover'd themselves over with the gilded Name of Christians, and yet were all guilty of these horrid Abominations charg'd upon Christians in general. *Irenæus* *adv. Heres. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 28.* and *c. 9. p. 70.* reports that they debauch'd in private the Women which they had perverted and brought over to their Sect, (as many with Shame and Sorrow acknowledg'd upon their Return to the Church) and not only so, but they openly marry'd the Women they had seduced from their Husbands, and laugh'd at the chaste and Orthodox Christians, as a parcel of Blockheads, styling themselves the Pure, the Perfect, and the Seeds of Election. *Clemens Alexandrinus* likewise *Strom. l. 3. p. 430.* tells the same Story of the *Carpocratians* that *Minutius Felix* does of the Christians, namely, that both Men and Women used to meet at *Supper*, in Imitation of the Love-Feast, and after they had been well warm'd with Meat and Drink, put out the Candles, and promiscuously mixt with one another. And *Epiphanius* tells us of the Gnosticks, *Heres. 26. p. 42.* that they had their Wives in Common, and when a Stranger of their own Sect came to them, both Men and Women had a Sign to know one another by, *viz.* by stretching out their Hands by way of Salutation, and by tickling each other in the Ball of their Hand, they knew the Stranger to be of their Party. Amongst their Brethren the *Carpocratians*, they were wont to mark their Disciples and Profelytes under the right Ear with a slit or hole, and this agrees with the Charge of the Heathens, that they knew one another at first sight, by privy Marks and Signs, and what perhaps is referr'd to in *Minutius Felix*. Besides, *Epiphanius*,

ons, and the devouring of human Flesh, I cannot say; but this I am sure of, that you don't harraßs and destroy 'em, as you do us, for these detestable Doctrines: But I have compos'd a Treatise of all these Heresies, which I am ready to produce for your Satisfaction, if you are ready to peruse it.

XXXVI. But we who are truly Christians, are so far from maintaining any unjust or ungodly Opinions, that exposing of Infants, which is so much in Practice among you, we teach to be a very wicked Practice; first because we see that such Children, both Girls and Boys, are generally all train'd up for the Service of Lust, for as the Ancients bred up these Foundlings to feed Cows, or Goats, or Sheep, or Grass-Horses, so now-a-days such Boys are brought up only to be abus'd against Nature; and accordingly you have a herd of these Women and effeminate Men, standing prostitute for Sale in every Nation; (and you traffick with such kind of Cattel, and take Toll and Custom for their Wickedness, when all such monstrous Practices ought to be quite and clean

us, Heres. 26. p. 43. tells us that the *Gnosticks* at their Meetings were wont to take an Infant begotten in their promiscuous Mixtures, and beating it in a Mortar, to season it with Honey and Pepper, and some other Spices and Perfumes to make it palatable, and then like Swine or Dogs to devour it, and this they accounted their *Perfect Passover*. Now this being the Practice of these Abominable Hereticks, who had the Forehead to style themselves Christians, it is no wonder if both Jews and Gentiles, who were greedy of any Occasion to blacken the Christians, shou'd load them all in general with these detestable Crimes, either not knowing 'em to be false, or else not willing to distinguish between Christians true or false.

rooted

rooted out of the World. And besides, whoever has to do with such wicked Creatures, not only defiles himself with a Mixture repugnant to all the Laws of Religion and Temperance, but 'tis a great Chance that the Sinner does not pollute himself with some of his own Children or nearest Relations. Some there are who prostitute their own Wives and Children, and others are cut publickly for Pathick Obscenity, and their Instruments made a Sacrifice to the Mother of the Gods. And of all the established Deities among you, a painted Serpent is the greatest Symbol and Mystery: And such Actions as you commit in the Face of the Sun, and are creditable Vices among you, as if you had not one Spark of Divine Light left; those you charge upon us, tho' this Charge will do no harm to us, who are entire Strangers to such Sins; but to the Doers of them only, and to such as falsely lay 'em to the Charge of Christians. But the Ring-leader and Prince of evil Spirits is by us called the Serpent, and Satan, and false Accuser, as you may easily find from our Scriptures, who together with all his Host of Angels, and Men like himself, shall be thrust into Fire, there to be tormented World without end, as our Christ has foretold; and the Reason why God has not done this already, is out of Mercy to such of Mankind, as he foresees will repent and be sav'd; some of which are now in Being, and others as yet unborn: And from the Beginning he made Mankind intelligent and free Creatures, fit for the Choice and Practice of Truth and Goodness; so that every

every Sinner should be without Excuse before God; for we are endu'd with Reason, and form'd for Contemplation. If any one therefore shall disbelieve the Providence of God, or shall deny his Existence, notwithstanding the Evidence of his World, or assert him to be a Being delighted with Wickedness, or as unactive as a Stone, and that Vice and Virtue are nothing in themselves, and depend only upon the Opinions of Men; this, I say, is a consummate piece of Impiety and Injustice.) And another Reason against exposing Infants, is, that we are afraid they should perish for want of being taken up, and so bring us under the Guilt of Murther.

XXXVII. Moreover, the End of Christians in marrying, is the Christian Education of their Children, and such as refuse to marry contain themselves perpetually within the Bounds of Chastity. And to give you a very persuasive and sensible Argument, that promiscuous Copulation is none of the Mysteries in Practice amongst us; a Christian Youth sent a Petition to *Felix* the President of *Alexandria*, to give a Surgeon leave to cut him, for without leave from the President, such kind of Operations are interdicted; but when *Felix* wou'd not sign the Petition, the Youth persisting in his Resolution, at length satisfy'd his Conscience and those about him who were of his Mind, by performing the Operation upon himself. I do not think it improper in this Place to put you in mind of the late *Antinous*, whom all were prevail'd upon by Fear to worship as a God,

God, notwithstanding they well knew what he was, and whence his Original; but lest any one shou'd object, that we can shew no Reason why our Christ shou'd not be look'd upon as a mere Man, and his Miracles the Effects only of Magick, and therefore cry'd up for the Son of God, I shall enter upon the Proof of his Divinity, not so much trusting to the Reports of Men, as the Predictions of Prophets, and necessitated to believe, because we see things with our own Eyes already fulfill'd according to these Predictions, and a fulfilling on ev'ry Day; and this, I believe, you your selves will grant to be the strongest Demonstration of the Truth imaginable.

XXXVIII. There were of old, among the Jews, certain Prophets of God, by whom the Prophetick Spirit made Proclamation of things to come, long before they were in Being; these Prophecies, just as they were deliver'd, were committed to Writing by the Prophets themselves in their own Hebrew Mother-Tongue, and the Books put into the Custody of the Kings of *Judea* then in Being. When *Ptolomy* therefore, King of *Egypt*, was setting up his Library, and very inquisitive about the most curious Collection of all sorts of Books, being inform'd of these Prophetick Writings, he dispatch'd an Embassador to the ^z *Jewish* High Priest, who was at that time invested with

^z Τῷ τῷ Ἰουδαίων τότε βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης] This is another Passage which that *Orbilius Patrum*, *John Daille*, has chosen to expose what he thinks to be the Nakedness of this Father; for (says he)

with the Regal Power, to request of him a Present of these Prophecies, and accordingly the Royal High Priest sent them in their Original Language, but the Contents of these Books being not intelligible to the *Egyptians* in the Hebrew Tongue, he sent a second Embassy to desire him to send over Men to translate 'em into Greek; and by these Means these Books are in Being with *Egyptians* to this Day, and this Translation is in the Hands almost of every Jew all the World over; which tho' they read, they understand not, but blindly take Christians for their Enemies, and when ever it is in their Power treat us as cruelly as you do; which I doubt not but you will readily grant me. For in the last Jewish War, *Barchochebas*, the Ringleader of the revolting Jews, order'd the Christians only to be dragg'd to the most grievous Torments, unless they wou'd renounce and blaspheme Jesus Christ.

XXXIX. Now in these Books of the Prophets, we find it foretold, that there was one a coming into the World, who being born of a Virgin, and grown up to Man's Estate,

he) *Justin Martyr*, speaking of the Translation of the 70 Interpreters, affirms, That *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* sent his Ambassadors to *Herod* King of *Judæa*, whereas the Truth of the Story is, that he sent to *Eleazar* the High Priest, two hundred, forty, and odd Years before *Herod* came to be King of *Judæa*: Dr. *Grabe*, who makes it his Business to do Justice to the Primitive Fathers, who deserve so well of the Christian World, well knew that his *Justin* was a Person too well qualify'd to be guilty of so notorious an oversight in point of Chronology, and in a matter so near his own time, has by a happy Conjecture restor'd him to himself, by substituting *ἱερὴ* instead of *Ἡρώδης*, which, no doubt, was a Blunder in the Transcriber, *Vid.* Notes upon this Place.

shou'd

shou'd cure ev'ry Disease and Malady in Nature, and raise the Dead, and be treated with Spite, and Ignominy, and at length this Jesus our Christ shou'd be fasten'd to a Cross, and dye, and rise again, and ascend up into Heaven, and that he was truly the Son of God, and shou'd be worshipped under that Title, and that he shou'd send out some to preach these Tidings to every Nation, and that the Gentiles shou'd come over to the Faith in greater Numbers than the Jews; and these very Prophecies went of him, before his Coming, some ^a five thousand, some three, some two, some one thousand, and some eight hundred Years only; for in all these succeeding Generations there was a Succession of some Prophets or other.

XL. And the great Prince of Prophets, Moses, thus expressly signify'd: *The Sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the People be, binding his Foal unto the Vine, and washing his Garments in the Blood of Grapes.* 'Tis incumbent therefore upon you, to make diligent Enquiry how long the Jews had a Prince or Ruler properly their own, and you will find, until the Appearance of Jesus Christ our Master, the great Expofitor of these Prophecies, little understood before; and you'll see it exactly verify'd according to what the Divine, Holy, and Prophe-

^a Some five thousand, some three, &c.] The more Curious will find the Chronology of these several Periods adjusted by Dr. Grabe in his Notes upon this Place.

tick Spirit foretold by *Moses*, *That a Law-giver shou'd not depart from Judah, until Shiloh come*; for *Judah* was the Father of the Jewish Nation, and from whom they took the Name of Jews. But after the Coming of *Shiloh*, you your selves reign'd over the Jews, and reduc'd their whole Kingdom into a *Roman Province*; that Part of the Prophecy which says *that unto him shall the gathering of the People be, or that he shall be the Expectation of the Gentiles*, denotes the general Expectation of his second Coming; a Truth your own Eyes bear witness to, and the thing proves it self; for you see all sorts of Men big with the Hopes of his second Coming in Glory, who was crucify'd in *Judea*, after which Crucifixion you immediately became Masters of their whole Country.

XLI. Moreover, *the binding his Foal unto the Vine, and washing his Garments in the Blood of Grapes*, was a significative Symbol of what Christ was to do and suffer; for there stood the Foal of an Assty'd to a Vine at the Entrance of a certain Village, which he order'd his Disciples to go and bring him, upon which he got and rode into *Jerusalem*, where the stately Temple of the Jews then was, which you since have raz'd to the Ground: And to fulfil the Sequel of the Prophecy, he was afterwards crucify'd. For *washing his Garments in the Blood of Grapes*, prefigur'd the Passion he was to undergo, purifying by his Blood such as shou'd believe in him; for what, by the Prophet, the Divine Spirit calls his *Garments*, are the Faithful, in
 † whom

whom the *Logos*, the ^b Seed of God dwells. The *Blood of Grapes* typifies that he who was to come, shou'd have Blood, but not of Humane, but of Divine Generation; and the first Power next to God the Father, and Lord of all, is his Son the *Logos*; but how this *Logos* was incarnated and made Man, shall be declared in order. But as Man had no Hand in making the Blood of 'the Grape, but God only, so this is an Emblem that the Blood of the *Logos* was of no human Extraction, but descended from the Power of the most High, as I have already declar'd.

XLII. *Isaiah*, another Prophet, foretels the same things, but in other Words: *There^c shall come a Star out of Jacob and a Rod shall come forth out of the Root of Jesse, and to it shall the Gentiles seek.* Now this shining Star out of *Jacob*, and this Rod out of the Root of *Jesse*, is Christ; for he was conceiv'd by the Power of God, and born of a Virgin of the Seed of *Jacob*, the Father of *Judah*, from whence arose the Jewish Nation; and *Jesse*, according to this Ora-

^b Τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ θεοῦ σπέρμα, ὁ λόγος.] I take the Liberty to dissent from Dr *Grabe* in this Place, who thinks that *σπέρμα* ought to be restor'd in the room of *σπέρμα*, because of the Word *οὐκ*, but Christ is said to dwell in the faithful, as well as the holy Spirit. *Κατακίηται ἡ χεὶρ σου διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*, that Christ may dwell in your Hearts by Faith, *Ephes. cap. 3. v. 17.* and in many other Places to the same purpose; but moreover, the main Design of *Justin* in this Prophecy, is to establish the divine Generation of Christ, and therefore he emphatically calls him τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ θεοῦ σπέρμα, the Seed of God, in Opposition to ἀνθρώπου σπέρμα, the Seed of Man, which immediately he twice repeats in expounding the *Blood of the Grape*.

^c Ἀναγέλθεις ἐξ Ἰακώβ.] See Dr. *Grabe's* Conjecture upon this Prophecy.

cle, was reckon'd among his Ancestors, but he was the Son of *Jacob* and *Judah* in a Lineal Succession.

XLIII. Again, concerning his being to be born of a Virgin, hear the express Words of the same Prophet *Isaiah*, and they are these, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and shall call his Name Immanuel, that is God with us.* For such things as were incredible and impossible to be, in the Opinions of Men, God by the prophetick Spirit foretold shou'd be; that when they found such things in Being, the very Predictions shou'd make it hardly possible to disbelieve them. But that such as understand not the Prophecy before us, may not turn the Objections upon us which we charge upon the Poets, and father this Conception upon a lustful *Jove*, I shall endeavour to set the Words in a clearer Light. This Expression therefore, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive*, manifestly declares that a Virgin shall conceive without any Carnal Concurrence, for upon that she must cease to be a Virgin; but the Power of God coming down upon the Virgin, overshadowed her, and made her conceive in the pure State of Virginity; and the Angel of God, which was sent to her, delivers his Embassy in these Words: *Behold thou shalt conceive in thy Womb by the Holy Ghost, and bring forth a Son, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest, and thou shalt call his Name Jesus, for he shall save his People from their Sins.* As the Evangelists have taught us, whom we believe, and the rather, because the prophetick Spirit by
the

Luke 1. 31,
and 35.

Matt. 1. 21.

the same *Isaiah* has foretold he shou'd be born, just as we have now declar'd. *By the Spirit and Power of God*, we ought to understand the very *Logos*, who according to the afore said Prophet^d *Isaiah*, is *the First-begotten of God*. This Spirit coming down and overshadowing the Virgin, did impregnate her, not in a carnal way, but by a Power Divine. Jesus is an Hebrew Word, and in Greek σωτηρ, that is Saviour, in Allusion to which the Angel deliver'd himself thus to the Virgin, *And thou shalt call his Name Jesus, for he shall save his People from their Sins.*

XLIV. That the Prophets were inspir'd by nothing but the Divine Wisdom or *Logos*, who cou'd foresee things at such a Distance, is what I believe you your selves will grant me; but where this *Logos* was to be born, hear what *Micah*, another Prophet, says, and thus it stands: *And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah art not the least among the Princes of Judah, for out of thee shall come a Governour that shall rule my People Israel.* Now this *Bethlehem* where Christ Jesus was born is a certain Village in *Judea*, about thirty five Furlongs from *Jerusalem*, as you may see in the Censual Tables of *Cyrenius*, the first^e Prefect of *Judea*; and how Christ after he was born liv'd in Obscurity, and how this Obscurity of Life was

Mich. 5. 2.
as it is cited
by St. Matt.
cap. 2. v. 6.

^d See Dr. *Grabe's* Conjecture about the Corruption of this Place.

^e *Ἐπίτροπος*.] For the understanding of this Word, Dr. *Grabe* refers to *Grotius* in cap. 2. *Luc.* And whoever desires to see more, may consult *Vales.* upon *Euseb. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 5.* and *Montac. Apparat. 4. p. 156, &c.*

foretold likewise, we have our Prophets to show, for thus they speak; —————

11. 9. 6. XLV. *Unto us a Child is born, and a young Man given, and the Government shall be upon his Shoulders:* Now this was a prophetick Description of the Power of the Cross, to which he apply'd his Shoulders at his Crucifixion, as I shall manifest in the Progress of this Discourse. And again, the same *Isaiah*, as he was mov'd
11. 65. 2. by the prophetick Spirit, says, *I have spread out my Hands to a rebellious gainsaying People,*
11. 58. 2. *which walketh in a way that is not good: They ask of me the Ordinances of Justice, they take delight in approaching to God.* And by another
- Psalms 21. Prophet in other Words, he spake thus: *They*
- 17, 19. *pierced my Hands and my Feet, and upon my Vesture did they cast Lots.* But *David*, both a King and a Prophet, who spake this, suffer'd nothing like it. But the Hands of *Jesus Christ* were pierc'd and extended upon a Cross, while the Jews revil'd and deny'd him to be the Christ. For, according to the Prophet, they lead him to the Judgment-Seat, and flouted him saying, *Thy Judgment be upon us. They pierced*
- Matt. 27. *his Hands and Feet*, refers to the Nails that here you have not the very Words, fasten'd 'em to the Cross; and when they had crucify'd him, the Crucifyers parted his Garments, but the Sense only, as Justin often does cite in this manner. *and upon his Vesture did they cast Lots.* And for the Truth of this you may satisfy your selves from the Acts of *Pontius Pilate*; and how literally it was prophecy'd that he shou'd make

————— Here is a Deficiency; and of what, consult Dr. Grabe.

his Entrance into *Jerusalem* upon the Foal of an Ass, I shall lay before you the Words of the Prophet ⁸ *Zachariah*: *Rejoyce greatly, O Daughter of Zion; shout, O Daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an Ass, and a Colt the Foal of an Ass.* *Zachar. 9. 9. according as they are cited by Matt. 21. 5.*

XLVI. But when you hear the Prophets speaking, as it were, under the Names of different Persons, you must not look upon the Men who speak, so much as upon the Divine *Logos* who inspires 'em; for sometimes he personates a Prophet, sometimes he speaks in the Person of God the Lord, and Parent of the Universe; sometimes in the Person of Christ, sometimes under the Representation of the People in Conference with the Lord, or his Father; and there is nothing more familiar than this way of introducing several Persons speaking, tho' the whole was compos'd by one, even among your own Writers. Now the Jews not animadverting to this manner of personating in the prophetick Writings which they had in keeping, overlook'd Christ, even before their Eyes, and mortally hate us who affirm him already come, and to have been crucify'd, and prove it demonstrably to have come to

* Τὸ Σοφόνις.] Here is another terrible oversight charg'd upon our Martyr by *John Daille*, namely, that he quotes this Prophecy out of *Zephaniah*, which is only to be found in the Prophet *Zachariah*; but had this Censor been as good at mending, as he is at making Holes, he might have found this very Prophecy cited by *Iustin*, from out of *Zechary*, for thus he speaks, *περὸν δὲ τὸν ὅτι λέγει Ζαχαρίας ἐνδὲς τοῦ δώδεκα, — ἔτις — χαίρει σφόδρα ἡ Ἱερουζαλήμ, &c.* Dialog. cum Tryp. p. 273.

pass according to the Prophets Predictions.

- XLVII. A plain Example of which, you have in the Words of *Isaiab* the Prophet, just now mention'd, deliver'd in the Person of
- If. 1. 3. God the Father: *The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib; but Israel doth not know, my People doth not consider. Ah, sinful Nation, a People laden with Iniquity, a Seed of evil Doers, wicked Children, ye have forsaken the Lord.* And again, elsewhere, the Prophet
- If. 66. 1. speaks in the Person of the Father: *What is the House ye build unto me? saith the Lord; the Heaven is my Throne, and the Earth is my Foot-*
- If. 1. 11, 12, stool. And again, elsewhere: *Your New Moons and Sabbaths my Soul hateth; your great Day of fasting and resting I cannot away with; when you come to appear before me, I will not hear you; your Hands are full of Blood, bring no more vain Oblations; Incense is an abomination unto me; I am full of the Fat of Lambs, and the Blood of Goats; who has requir'd these at your*
- If. 58. 6, 7. *Hands? But loose the Bands of Wickedness, and undo the heavy Burthens; bring the Poor that are cast out of thy House, and cover the Naked, and deal thy Bread to the Hungry. And what these Commands of God by his Prophets were, you may understand by these Examples.*

- XLVIII. When the prophetick Spirit speaks in the Person of Christ, he speaks in this wise,
- If. 65. 2. *I have spread out my Hands to an incredulous and gainsaying People, which walketh in a way*
- If. 1. 6, 7, 8. *that is not good; and again, I gave my Back to the Smitters, and my Cheeks to them that struck them; I hid not my Face from Shame and spit-*
- ting.*

ting. For the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore have I set my Face like a Flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed, he is near that justifieth me. And again, They parted my Garments among them, and cast Lots ^{Psal. 21.} upon my Vesture; they pierced my Hands and my ^{17, 19.} Feet. I laid me down and slept, and rose again ^{Psal. 3. 6.} for the Lord raised me. And again, They shoot ^{Pf. 21. 8, 9.} out the Lip, and shake the Head, saying, Let the Lord deliver him. All which you may plainly see was fulfill'd in Christ by the Jews; for while he was crucifying, they distorted their Lips, and wagging their Heads, say'd, He that ^{Matt. 27.} raised the Dead, let him save himself. ^{39.}

XLIX. When the prophetic Spirit personates a Prophet in foretelling things to come, he speaks thus: Out of Sion shall go forth a Law, ^{II. 11. 3, &c} and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and he shall judge among the Nations, and shall rebuke many People, and they shall beat their Swords into Plough shares, and their Spears into pruning Hooks; Nation shall not lift up Sword against Nation, neither shall they learn War any more. And that this Scripture was thus fulfilled, you have good Grounds to believe; for there went out of Jerusalem into the World, Men in number but twelve, and those too, Men of no Learning, and of as little Eloquence; but they went forth in the Power of God, and publish'd to every Nation, that they were sent to instruct 'em in the Word of God, and sent by Christ. And this has had so good an Effect, that we, who heretofore were continually devouring each other, will not now so much as lift up

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our Hand against our Enemies, nor tell an untruth to escape those that are hunting after our Blood, but cheerfully confess Christ, and as cheerfully go to Execution for so doing, tho' we might easily come off by the help of that Mental Reservation in your Poet, *My Tongue has sworn, but my Mind has not.* But now if the Soldiers you list, and who Article with you to be true, can prefer their plighted Troth before all the Endearments of Life, Parents, Country, and ev'ry Relation; if they can stake their All upon their Allegiance to you, who can reward 'em with nothing incorruptible; how ridiculous wou'd it be in Christians, we whose Souls are set upon nothing but the Joys of Immortality, not to charge thro' every Affliction, for the Prize we so passionately desire, and which we are sure to be crown'd with by Him who is able to give.

pc. 18. 3,
6c.

L. Hear also in what manner the prophetic spirit delivers himself, by the Mouth of Him who was both Prophet and King, concerning the Preachers of the Gospel, and the Publishers of Christ's Coming into the World: *Day unto Day uttereth Speech, and Night unto Night sheweth Knowledge: There is no Speech nor Language where their Voice is not heard; their Sound is gone out through all the Earth, and their Words to the end of the World; in them hath he set a Tabernacle for the Sun, which is as a Bridegroom coming out of his Chamber, and rejoyceth as a Giant to run his Course.*

LI. Shou'd I add more of David's Prophecies to these I have already produc'd, I am of
Opinion

Opinion it might be both pertinent and useful; for from hence you might take a Survey of that kind of Life which the prophetick Spirit exhorts Men to, and you might see *Herod* the King of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, and *Pilate* your Procurator of *Judea*, and his Soldiers, all conspiring against Christ, and how it was foretold, that in spite of all this Opposition, every Nation shou'd come at length to believe in Him: And here likewise you may see how God calls him His Son, and promises to subdue all His Enemies unto Him, and how the Devils shou'd labour with all their Might, to hide from the Power of God the Parent, and Lord of all things, and from the Power of his Christ; and lastly, how God shou'd invite all Men to repent before the Coming of the Day of Judgment. The Words of Prophecy are these: *Blessed is the Man that walketh not in the Counsel of the Ungodly, nor standeth in the Way of Sinners, nor sitteth in the Seat of the Scornful, But his Delight is in the Law of the Lord, and in his Law doth he meditate Day and Night, And he shall be like a Tree planted by the Rivers of Water, that bringeth forth his Fruit in his Season, his Leaf shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper; The ungodly are not so, but are like the Chaff which the Wind driveth away, Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the Judgment, nor Sinners in the Congregation of the Righteous; For the Lord knoweth the way of the Righteous, but the way of the Ungodly shall perish. Why do the Heathen rage, and the People imagine a vain thing?*

*Psalms the
first and se-
cond entire.*

thing? The Kings of the Earth stood up, and the Rulers took Counsel together against the Lord and against His Christ; Let us break their Bonds asunder, and cast away their Cords from us. He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in Derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his Wrath, and vex them in his sore Displeasure; Yet have I set my King upon my holy Hill of Sion. I will declare the Decree the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth for thy Possession; Thou shalt break them with a Rod of Iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a Potter's Vessel. Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings, be instructed, ye Judges of the Earth. Serve the Lord with Fear, and rejoyce with Trembling; Obey his Doctrine, lest the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when his Wrath shall be kindled on a suddain; blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

LII. And again, in another Prophecy, which the prophetick Spirit deliver'd by the same David concerning Christ's Kingdom, which was to commence just after his Crucifixion, he speaks in this wise: Sing unto the Lord all the whole Earth, and be telling of his Salvation from Day to Day, For the Lord is great, and cannot worthily be praised, he is more to be feared then all Gods, for all the Gods of the Heathen are but the Idols of Devils; but it is the Lord that made the Heavens, Glory and Worship are before him, Power and Honour are in his Sanctuary: Ascribe

unto

unto the Lord, the Father everlasting, Worship and Power, bring Presents, and come into his Courts. Let the whole Earth stand in awe of him, and be made so fast in his Worship, that it cannot be moved; Let them rejoyce among the Nations, for the Lord reigneth from the ^h Tree.

LIII. But because the prophetick Spirit speaks of Futurities as things past, and least this shou'd prove any Offence in the Reader's way, I shall clear it a little more particularly. I say, then, that what the Spirit knows must certainly come to pass, he declares as already fulfill'd; and that we are thus to understand his Words, will be very evident, if you reflect a little upon the Passages I have quoted; for ⁱ David about 1100 Years before the Crucifixion of Christ in our Flesh, gave out the Prophecies aforesaid, and not One, either of his Predecessors or Successors, were ever crucify'd, or brought such glad Tidings to the Gentile World. But our Jesus Christ, after his Crucifixion and Death, rose again and ascended into Heaven, and enter'd upon his Kingdom, and what he proclaim'd to all Nations by his Apostles, spreads an universal Joy upon the Hearts of such, as

^h Vid. Dial. cum Tryp. p. 298. And in Allusion to the Cross are those Words in the Book of Wisdom: *Blessed is the Wood whereby Righteousness cometh.* Wisd. cap. 14. v. 7.

ⁱ Δαβὶδ ἔτεσι χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις.] Here again Dr. Grebe has wip'd off a sad Blemish, which the aforesaid John Daille wou'd fix upon Justin in point of Chronology, and has plainly prov'd it to be an Error in the Scribe; see the Notes upon this Passage.

are

are in Expectation of that Immortality which is brought to Light by his Gospel.

LIV. But least any shou'd collect from what has been said, that we are Assertors of fatal Necessity, and conclude that * Prophecy must needs infer Predestination, we shall clear our selves as to this Point also; for we learn from these very Prophets, that Rewards and Punishments are to be distributed in Proportion to the Merits of Mankind; and it is a Truth we our selves profess: For if it be not so, but all things are determin'd by Fate, then farewell Freedom of Will; and if this Man is destin'd to be good, and that evil, then neither the one nor the other can be justly approv'd or condemn'd; so that unless we suppose that Mankind has it in his Power to choose the Good and refuse the Evil, no one can be accountable for any Action whatever. But to prove that Men are Good or Evil by Choice, I argue in this manner,—We see in the same Person a Transition to quite contrary Actions; but now was he necessitated either to be good

* That the Pagans were very much inclin'd to infer with the Stoicks a fatal Necessity from the Prediction of things to come, is evident from what *Origen* replies to *Celsus* upon this Subject. *Orig. contra Cels.* lib. 2. p. 72. I know that our Martyr is thought hardly of, for magnifying the Power of Man's Will, but this is notoriously evident to have been the current Doctrine of the Fathers, thro' all the first Ages, till the Rise of the *Pelagian* Controversie, tho' they all acknowledg'd *χάρις ἐξαιρέσιον* a mighty Assistance of Divine Grace, to raise up the Soul for divine and spiritual things. And *Justin* tells his Adversary, that 'tis vain for Man to think of rightly understanding the Prophets, unless he be assisted *ὡς μετὰ αὐτοῦ χάρις* by a mighty Grace deriv'd from God. *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 319.

or bad, he would not be capable of this Contrariety, nor so often vary from one to the other; besides there would not be this Diversity of Virtuous and Vicious in the World; for either we must say with you, that Destiny is the Cause of Evil, and then Destiny would act contradictorily to her self, in being the Cause of Good; or else I must say, what I have said already, that you conclude Virtue and Vice to be in themselves nothing, but to receive their Estimate of Good or Bad from the Opinions of Men only, which according to right Reason is a consummate piece of Impiety and Injustice.

LV. But this I will tell you is Destiny, inevitable Destiny, that those who choose to walk in the Paths of Virtue, shall meet with proportionate Returns of Honour, and those who prefer the contrary Course, shall be punish'd accordingly; for God has not made Man like Trees or Beasts, without the Power of Election; for he that has no hand in making himself Good or Bad, but is born so ready made, is no proper Subject for the Distributions of Justice; for neither the Good nor the Evil are such by themselves, but only as they are framed by the Hand of Destiny.

LVI. Moreover, the holy prophetick Spirit has instructed us in the Doctrine of Free Will by Moses, who introduces God, speaking to the new made Man, in this manner, *Behold Good and Evil is before you, choose the Good.* Deut. 30. 15, 19. See Dr. Grabe's Notes upon this. And again, by another Prophet, *Isaiah*, he speaks to the same Effect, in the Person of God *this* the

II. I. 16, 20. the Father, and Lord of the Universe: *Wash ye, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings, learn to do well, judge the Fatherless, and plead for the Widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord, though your Sins be as Scarlet, they shall be as white as Snow; tho' they be red like Crimson, they shall be as Wool; if ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the Good of the Land, but if you refuse and rebel, the Sword shall feed upon you, for the Mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. And whereas it is said that the Sword shall feed upon you, and not that the Disobedient shall be cut off by Swords, I must tell you by the bye, that the Sword of God is Fire, which shall prey upon those who have made Wickedness their Choice, and therefore he says, the Sword shall feed upon you, the Mouth of the Lord hath spoken it; whereas had he spoken of a common Sword which cuts off, and dispatches in a Moment, he wou'd not have us'd the Word feeding upon, which intimates a gradual Destruction.*

LVII. When *Plato* therefore said, ¹ *That the Blame lyes at his Door who wills the Sin, but God wills no Evil;* he borrow'd the Saying from *Moses*, for *Moses* is ^m older than any of your *Greek Writers*; and as to all their Notions about the Immortality of the Soul, and Punishments after Death, and their divine Theories, and such like Doctrines, the Phi-

¹ *Plat. de Repub. lib. 10. p. 617. Edit. Henr. Stephani.*

^m At the easiest Computation between *Moses* and *Homer* there are above 600 Years; nay, *Cadmus*, the first Inventor of Letters among the *Gracians* was some Ages junior to *Moses*.

losophers and Poets plainly took their Hints from the Prophets, which they consulted and built upon, and by this means the Seeds of Truth seem to be scatter'd about the World ; but 'tis evident they understood 'em not as they shou'd do, from the manifold Contradictions amongst 'em.

LVIII. By maintaining therefore, that future Events have been foretold by the Prophets, we do not maintain that the things foretold came to pass by any fatal Necessity, but from that divine Prescience which foresees all the Actions of Men, without necessitating them to act. And since a just Retribution of Rewards and Punishments, is a current Opinion in the World, God has been pleas'd to second this Notion by the prophetick Spirit, the more to awaken Mankind, and to print a future Judgment perpetually upon their Minds, and withal, to shew that his Providence is concern'd about us, and observes all our Actions.

LIX. But it was brought about by Devilcraft, to be made a Capital Crime to read the Books of *Hystaspes* ⁿ *Sybilla*, and the Prophets, upon

ⁿ The great Objection against the *Sybilline* Oracles, &c. is, That they so plainly and expressly foretel Christ to the Heathen World, as plainly, if not more, than the Prophets did to the Jews; but was not Christ as manifestly foretold by *Baalam* the Aramitick Sorcerer, as by the Prophet *Isaiab*? Did not *Job*, who was not of *Israel*, speak of the great Article of the Resurrection? cap. 19. 25. Did not *Daniel* in his Captivity communicate his Prophecies to the Gentiles, as well as the Jews? And was not a Prophet sent to *Jeroboam*, an Israelite indeed by Birth, but a Pagan in Religion? All which plainly prove, that God never deliver'd Himself more plainly by his Prophets, than when he transacted with Gentiles, and not

upon a Presumption that Men wou'd not venture upon such Books for better Information, at the peril of their Lives, but rather sit down contented Slaves to the Powers of Darknes. But the Devils miss'd their Aim, for we are not only not afraid to read these Scriptures, but,

not with Jews. And this likewise proves what *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us in 6. *Stro.* p. 270. that as God rais'd up Prophets among the Jews to bring 'em to Salvation, *Sic & selectissimum quemque è Pagani servare voluisse, Prophetas ipsis proprios, propria ipsorum dialecto excitando;* and to these Sybils, *Justin, Clemens, Origen, Eusebius, Lactantius,* send the Heathen for the Truth of Christianity, and lay'd so great a stress upon them, that they were called Sibylists. But now, had all these Books of the Sybils been Christian Forgeries (not to mention the baseness of such pious Frauds abominated by the first Christians) they would never have been so fillily impudent, as to have appeal'd to them before the Emperors, and to the whole World. And *Origen* wou'd never have challeng'd *Celsus*, or any of the Heathens, to give a considerable Instance where these Books were interpolated by Christians, which, no doubt, they wou'd have triumphantly produc'd, had they any such Interpolations to produce, *Orig. contr. Cels. lib. 1.* Moreover 'tis certain, that in *Cicero's* time, the *Sibylline* Prophecies were interpreted by some in favour of *Cæsar*, as predicting a Monarchy. *Cic. Div. l. 2 — Eum, quem revera Regem, &c. That if we wou'd be safe, we shou'd acknowledge him for a King, who really was so.* Which Interpretation *Cicero* after *Cæsar's* Death was so much offended with, that he quarrels with the Oracles and the Interpreters, *Quamobrem Sibyllam quidem sepositam, &c. Wherefore let us shut up the Sibyl, and keep her close; that according to the Decree of our Ancestors, her Verses may not be read without the express Command of the Senate.* And then adds, *cum Antistitibus, &c. Let us also deal with the Quindecimviri and the Interpreters of these Sibylline Books, that they wou'd rather produce any thing out of 'em than a King.* And that in the Eclogue of *Virgil*—*Ultima Cumæ venit, &c.* written about the beginning of *Herod* the Great, and flatteringly apply'd to *Pollion's* Son *Saloninus* speaks of such a Golden Age, and Renovation of all things, as cannot be fulfilled in the Reign of any earthly King, and in a *Strain* Prophetick. The same Year that *Pompey* took *Jerusalem*, one of the Sibyl Oracles made a mighty Noise, viz. *That Nature was about to bring forth a King to the Romans.* And *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Augustus*, says, *That this terrified the Senate, that they made a Decree, that none born that Year should be educated, and that those*

whose

but, as you see, frankly offer them to your perusal, presuming they may be well accepted by all; but if we gain a few only, we shall be great Gainers, for God will look upon us as good Husbandmen, who have done our best, and will reward us accordingly.

LX. But to return from this Digression to the Prophecies concerning Christ, it was pro-

whose Wives were with Child, apply'd the Prophecy to themselves. And Appian, Plutarch, Salust, and Cicero, all say that it was this Prophecy of the Sibyls which stir'd up Cornelius Lentulus at that time, he hoping that he was the Man design'd for this King of the Romans. The Words of Suetonius in the Life of Vespasian are very remarkable—*Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum poterentur*; and to the same purpose are those of Tacitus (Hist. l. 5.) *Pluribus persuasio inerat, Antiquis Sacerdotum Literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur*. Now that which I look upon as the most probable Account of these express Prophecies concerning Christ, I mean how they came to be so rise among the Heathens, is this, That the Jews in their Dispersion took all Occasions to speak the most magnificent things of their expected Messiah; and that these Prophecies, by the more than ordinary Grace of God, shone brighter and clearer upon their Minds during their Captivity, as the great Support to them under their Exile; and that the Jewish Oracles came to be admitted into the Sibylline Books lay'd up in the Capitol, I believe was upon this Occasion. Now the Books of the Sibylls were of two Kinds, Those bought by Tarquin, and burnt with the Capitol in the time of Sylla; and these we find, from Livy, were full of nothing but Idolatry and Superstition. But after the rebuilding of the Capitol, there were others brought from Erythræ by the three Embassadors deputed for that purpose; and afterwards upon the same Design were others sent by Augustus, as Tacitus tells us, Annal. lib. 6. *Quæsitæ Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam & Siciliam & Italicas Colonias Carminibus Sibyllæ, datum Sacerdotibus negotium, quantum humanâ ope potuissent, vera discernere*; and to the same purpose Suetonius, Aug. cap. 31. Now who can doubt but in this Search after the Sibylline Oracles, many of the Jewish Prophecies were picked up (especially those famous ones concerning the new King) and carry'd with the rest to Rome; for after the first were burnt with the Capitol, who could possibly distinguish the one from the other? And therefore Tacitus cautiously adds in the aforesaid Passage, *quantum humanâ ope potuissent*.

phesy'd, That after his Resurrection God the Father of all things shou'd take Him up into Heaven, there to reign till He had put down His spiritual Enemies, the whole Host of Darkness, under His Feet, and till the Number shou'd be fulfill'd which he foreknew wou'd be Men of Piety and Virtue, for whose sake He suspends the general Conflagration. Hear the Words of the Prophet *David* to this Purpose, *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right Hand untill I make thine Enemies thy Footstool. The Lord shall send the Rod of thy Strength out of Sion, rule thou in the midst of thine Enemies. Thy People shall be willing in the Day of thy Power, in the Beauties of Holyness; From the Womb have I begotten thee before the Morning Star.* Now these Words, *The Lord shall send the Rod of thy Strength out of Jerusalem*, are Predictive of that most powerful Doctrine, which the Apostles after their Departure from *Jerusalem* proclaim'd to the whole World; which very Doctrine we embrace and teach ev'ry where, tho' we know 'tis Death by your Law to teach it, or so much as profess the Name of Christ. But if the Christian Profession must still meet with such bitter Treatment, remember what I told you before, that the farthest you can go is to take away our Lives, but the Loss of this Life will certainly be no ill Bargain to us; you indeed, and all such wicked Enemies, without Repentance, shall one Day dearly pay for this Persecution in Fire everlasting.

Psal. 109.
1, &c.

XLI. But lest Men of perverse Minds for the staggering of Christian Converts shou'd object, that we our selves allow Christ not to have been born above an hundred and fifty Years in the time of *Cyrenius*, and that He broach'd His Doctrine under *Pontius Pilate*, and from hence cry out, that all Mankind before the Birth of Christ must consequently have been innocent, I shall by way of Prevention solve this Doubt. One Article of our Faith then is, That Christ is the First begotten of God, and we have already prov'd Him to be the very *Logos*, or universal Reason, of which Mankind are all Partakers; and therefore those who live by Reason are in some sort ° Christians, notwithstanding they may pass with you for

° For the better understanding of this Passage which is so severely excepted against by *Daille*, *Casaubon*, and others, you are to observe in what sense our *Justin* uses the Word λόγος; and his Notion is plainly this, That Christ was the Eternal λόγος or Wisdom of his Father, the λόγος ἐνδιδούσας καὶ ἐσιώδης, the inward substantial Word of his Father, the Fountain of Reason, as the Sun is the Fountain of Light, and that from Him there was a λόγος or Reason naturally deriv'd into every Man, as a Beam and Emanation of Light from that Sun; to which purpose *Origen*, who is exactly of the same Opinion, expounds that of St. *John*, *In the Beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God; that was the true Light that lighteth every Man that cometh into the World.* Orig. Com. in Joan. p. 25. vide etiam p. 40. Upon the same Occasion *Justin* in his second Apology, p. 46, calls Christ the ὁ παντὸς λόγος, *The universal Word or Reason.* And *Heraclitus* and those who liv'd according to Reason in part, are here said to live καὶ περιμαλινεῖ λόγῳ μέγας, according to the seminal Word sown in their Nature. Now in as much as by this *Logos* all things were created, that are in Heaven, and that are in the Earth, Coloss. c. i. v. 16. the Effect must in some Measure partake of the Efficient. The Case then, in short, is no more than this, Every Man is naturally endued with Reason, as a Light kindled from Him who

for Atheists; such among the Greeks were *Socrates*, and *Heracitus*, and the like; and such among the Barbarians were *Abraham*, and *Ananias*, and *Azarias*, and *Misael*, and *Elias*, and many others, whose Actions, nay whose very Names, I know, wou'd be tedious to relate, and therefore shall pass them over; so on the other side, those who have liv'd in Defiance of Reason, were Unchristian, and Enemies to the *Logos*, and such as liv'd according to Him; but they who make Reason the Rule of their Actions are Christians, Men of undaunted Courage, and untroubled Consciences, for whose Sake the *Logos*, by the Will of God the Father and Lord of All, was by the very Power of ^P Himself made Man in the Womb of a Virgin,

is the *Logos* or Wisdom of His Father, and may be so far said to partake of Christ, the Original Wisdom; and so far as they live after the Image of Him that created them, may be said $\chi\tau\iota\ \lambda\omicron\beta\omicron\varsigma\ \beta\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, and in this Sense be called Christians. But *Justin* nowhere affirms that the Gentiles might be sav'd without the Entertainment of Christianity; for in many Places in this *Apology* you find him denouncing eternal Fire against such as refuse to embrace the Faith; but only so far as those who never heard of the Gospel liv'd up to Reason, so far were they a-kin to the Original *Logos*, and in some sort Christians: And that whatever was rightly taught by *Socrates* among the Greeks, or by others among the Barbarians, was in Effect done by the *Logos* himself, the Word made Flesh.

[$\Delta\iota\alpha\ \delta\omega\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\varsigma\ \lambda\omicron\beta\omicron\varsigma$.] Section the 43d. The Spirit and Power of God which overshadow'd the Virgin, our *Justin* interprets to be the Spirit and Power of the very *Logos*. And here again he says, the *Logos* begot himself; and that of St. *Luke*, c. i. v. 35. $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\omega\delta\epsilon\mu\iota\nu\ \upsilon\psi\iota\varsigma$, the holy Spirit, and the Power of the Most High. *Tertullian* likewise expounds of the very *Logos*, *adver. Prax.* cap. 26. This, I confess, seem'd to me at first sight a very harsh Interpretation, but finding, upon second Thoughts, that it related not to his eternal Generation, but only to that in time, and in the Womb of a Virgin, I concluded that these Fathers cou'd

mean

gin, and was named Jesus, and was crucify'd, and dy'd, and rose again from the dead, and went again into Heaven; all which I have prov'd at large, and is very intelligible to any Person of honest Understanding. And because enough has been said upon this Head, I shall proceed to others, which at present seem more necessary.

LXII. Because then it was foretold by the Prophetick Spirit that the Land of the Jews shou'd be laid desolate. Hear the Words of the

mean no more than what the Scriptures plainly say, *viz.* That He took upon Himself our Flesh, and made Himself Man in the Womb of a Virgin. But then this Interpretation manifestly overthrows what the Author of *The Reasonableness of Christianity* wou'd insinuate, p. 199, 200, 201, and elsewhere, That Christ was only the Son of God, because he was conceiv'd in the Womb of a Virgin, by the immediate Power of God: "Adam (says he) is called the Son of God, *Luke 3. 38.* and had this part of his Father's Image, *viz.* That he was Immortal; but *Adam* transgressing, forfeited his Immortality, and begot Children after his own Image, mortal like their Father; but God willing to bestow eternal Life on mortal Men, sends Jesus Christ into the World, who being conceiv'd in the Womb of a Virgin by the immediate Power of God, was properly the Son of God, according to what the Angel declar'd to his Mother, *Luke 1. 30—35.* And being the Son of God, and not having forfeited that Sonship by any Transgression, was the Heir of Eternal Life, as *Adam* shou'd have been, had he continu'd in his Filial Duty.—But now, not to ask how Christ can be said to be the Only, and the only begotten Son of God, upon the Account aforesaid, when *Adam* was the first Man, and without either Father or Mother, immediately form'd by God Himself, and therefore call'd expressly the Son of God, *Luke 3. v. 38.* not to ask this, I say, our Martyr, who most certainly was fully acquainted with this grand Article of the Christian Faith, has put it beyond Dispute, that Christ was not properly the Son, the only begotten Son of God, because conceived by the Power of the Most High; for he interprets this Most High of the very *Logos* Himself, and more than once. And if Christ is God, as *Justin* in this Apology expressly calls Him, and above twenty times in his other Writings, then His humane Generation may very justly be ascribed to Himself as God.

If. 64. 10,
11, 12.

Prophecy, which personate a People in a maze at what had befallen 'em; *Zion is a Wilderness, Jerusalem a Desolation, our holy and our beautiful House, where our Fathers praised thee, is burnt up with Fire, and all our pleasant things are lay'd waste, And thou refraineſt thy ſelf for theſe things, and doſt hold thy peace, and afflict us very ſore.* And what a Desolation *Jerusalem* has been, according to this Prediction, you your ſelves know with a Witneſs. It was moreover prophecy'd, concerning this Desolation, that not a Jew ſhou'd be tolerated to live there; for thus *Iſaiah* has it, *Your Country is deſolate, Strangers devour it in your Preſence, and there is none to inhabit:* And what Care you have taken of fulfilling this Prophecy, you need not be told, for you have made it^a Capital in a Jew to ſet a Foot in his own Country.

If. 1. 7.

LXIII. And how it was foretold, that our Chriſt ſhould cure all Diſeaſes, and raiſe the Dead, you may learn from hence, *At his Coming the Lame ſhall leap like a Stag, and the Tongue of the Dumb ſhall be eloquent, the Lepers ſhall be cleansed, and the Dead ſhall riſe and walk about.* And how he perform'd theſe Miracles you may eaſily be ſatisfy'd, from the Acts of *Pontius Pilate*, and how the prophetick Spirit declar'd before hand, that both He and thoſe who truſted in Him ſhou'd loſe their

If. 35. 5, 6.

^a Concerning this Interdict againſt the Jews entering into the Holy Land, under Pain of Death. See *Euseb. Hiſt. Ecclef. lib. 4. cap. 4.* and *Tertull. Apol. cap. 21.*

Lives, I refer you to this Passage in *Isaiah*, *Behold how the Righteous perisketh, and no Man layeth it to Heart, and merciful Men are taken away, none considering that the Righteous is taken away from the Evil to come; he shall go in Peace, he is taken from among us.* Again you may see how it was publish'd by the same *Isaiah*, that the Gentiles who expected Him not, shou'd worship Him; but the Jews, who were always in Expectation of Him, shou'd not know Him, even when He was come unto them. The Words are deliver'd in the Person of Christ, and run thus, *I am sought of them that asked not for me, I am found of them that sought me not; I said behold me, behold me, unto a Nation that was not called by my Name; I have spread out my Hands unto a rebellious People, which walketh in no good way, but after their own Thoughts, a People that provoketh me to Anger continually to my Face.* For the Jews who had these Oracles in keeping, and were always up in Expectation of the *Messiah*, saw Him not, when before their Eyes; and not only overlook'd Him, but abus'd Him to the last Degree of Ignominy. But the Gentiles, who sat in Darkness, and had heard nothing of Christ till after His Apostles went from *Jerusalem*, and expounded the things concerning Him, and publish'd the Prophecies; these People, I say, were fill'd with Joy and Faith at the glad Tidings, and both renounc'd their Idols, and also^r conse-

^r That this was the ancient Form of Words proclaim'd by the Deacon, upon the dismissal of such Catechumens from the Church, as were shortly to be baptiz'd, see Dr. Grabe's Notes upon the Place.

If. 5. 20.

crated themselves to the Unbegotten God thro' Christ. And that the infamous Stories spread about against the Professors of Christ, and the Miseries that should befall the Spreaders of them, and such as value themselves so mightily for adhering to the Customs of their Forefathers, that all these things were foreknown, you may easily perceive from this short Passage in *Isaiah*, *Wo be to them who call bitter sweet, and sweet bitter.*

If. 53.v.vlt.

If. 52. 13,
14, 15.

If. 53.1--2.

LXIV. Moreover, that He was to be made Man for the Sake of Mankind, and that He shou'd be contented to suffer, and to be treated in the most dishonourable manner, and at length come again in Glory, I shall propose to your Observation the Prophecies upon this Head. *Because he hath poured out his Soul unto Death, and was numbred with the Transgressors, and bare the Sin of many, and made Atonement for the Transgressors; Behold my Servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high: As many were astonished at thee (his Visage was so much marred more than any Man, and his Form more than the Sons of Men) so shall many Nations admire, and the Kings shall shut their Mouths at him, for that which had not been told them shall they see, and that which they had not heard shall they understand. Lord who hath believed our Report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed? For he shall grow up before him as a tender Plant, and as a Root out of a dry Ground; he hath no Form or Comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no Beauty that we should desire him.*

He is despised and rejected of Men, a Man of Sorrow, and acquainted with Grief, and we hid, as it were, our Faces from him, he was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath born our Grievs, and carryed our Sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted: But he was wounded for our Transgressions, he was wounded for our Iniquities, the Chastisement of our Peace was upon him, and with his Stripes are we healed; All we, like Sheep, have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the Iniquity of us all; He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his Mouth; he is brought as a Lamb to the Slaughter, and as a Sheep before her Shearers is dumb, so he opened not his Mouth. He was taken away by Distress and Judgment. Accordingly upon His Crucifixion His Disciples all deserted and deny'd Him, but upon the Sight of their Master just risen from the Dead, and when he had let their Understandings into the Prophecies where this whole Scene of Suffering and Triumph was describ'd, and had made his Ascension into Heaven before their Eyes, and thus fully convinced them, and shower'd down upon them the Powers of the Spirit; they went out in the Strength thereof into ev'ry Nation, preaching these things, and from their Mission were called Apostles.

LXV. And to acquaint us that the Sufferer of all this, was of a Generation inexplicable, and that He should rule over His Enemies; the prophetick Spirit speaks thus, *Who shall declare his Generation? for he was cut off out of the Land* Is. 53. 8. to the end.

Land of the Living, for the Transgression of my People was he stricken, and he made his Grave with the Wicked, and the Rich in his death, because he had done no Violence, neither was any Deceit in his Mouth; Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him, he hath put him to Grief. When thou shalt make his Soul an Offering for Sin, he shall see his Seed, he shall prolong his Days, and the Pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his Hand. He shall see of the Travel of his Soul, and shall be satisfy'd. By his Knowledge shall my righteous Servant justify many, for he shall bear their Iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a Portion with the Great, and he shall divide the Spoil with the Strong, because he has poured out his Soul unto Death, and he was number'd with the Transgressors, and made Intercession for many. Hear

Pf. 23. 7, 8. another Prophecy concerning His Ascension, Lift up the Gates of Heaven, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting Doors, that the King of Glory may enter in. Who is the King of Glory? the Lord strong, the Lord mighty in Battel. And that you may see how He is to come again from Heaven in Glory, I will give you the Prophecy of Daniel, Behold the Son of Man came with the Clouds of Heaven, and his Angels with Him.

Dan. 7. 13. LXVI. Since therefore we thus demonstrably prove, that the things now come to pass, were proclaim'd by the Prophets long before the Events, how can we withhold from believing that the Prophecies as yet unfulfill'd, will as verily be accomplish'd in their Season, as those we now see verify'd with our own Eyes?

For

For as these were once foretold, and disbelieved, and yet came to pass, so the Remainder will be brought to as certain an Issue, in spite of Ignorance and Infidelity; for the very same Prophets have foretold a two-fold Advent of Christ, one wherein He was to come in the Guise of an inglorious suffering Mortal, and this is over; the other, wherein He shall come in His own Form, incircled with Celestial Glory, and His Host of Angels, when He shall raise from the Dead ^f all the Men that ever had a Being, and shall invest the Righteous with Bodies incorruptible, and make the Ungodly, together with these wicked Spirits, feel His Vengeance in Fire everlasting.

LXVII. And the prophetick Predictions concerning this second Advent, you have thus deliver'd by Ezekiel, *The Bones came together,* Ezek. 37.
Bone to his Bone, and the Flesh came upon them. 7, 8.
And ev'ry Knee shall bow to the Lord, and ev'ry Is. 45. 24.
Tongue shall confess him. And for the Pains and Torments the Wicked shall undergo hereafter, pray consider these Words, *Their Worm* Is. 66. 24.
shall not dye, neither shall their Fire be quenched. And then shall they repent, when Repentance shall be too late. And what the unbelieving Jews will say and do in that Day, when they shall see Him coming in His Glory, the Prophet Zachary describes in this man-

^f Here again you see *Justin Martyr*, as clear and express as Words can make him, for a general Resurrection to eternal Happiness or Misery, *a Resurrection of all the Men that ever had a Being*, against Mr. *Dodwell*, in his Epistolary Discourse above-cited. *Vide Sozom. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. iii. versus finem.*

Zach. 11. 6. *ner, Ho! ho! come forth, and flee from the Land of the North, for I have spread you abroad as the four Winds of the Heavens; and then will I make Jerusalem a Cup of Trembling, not of trembling with the Countenance only, but in their Heart, and shall rend not their Garments, but their Minds: And Tribe shall mourn to Tribe, and they shall look upon him whom they pierced, and shall say, O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways? the Glory which our Forefathers were bless'd with, is turned to our Reproach.*

Ibid. v. 12.

Ibid. v. 10.

Is. 63. 17.

and 64. 11.

These are various Passages out of

the Prophet

Zachary, as

they occur'd

to the Me-

mory of Ju-

stin, and the

Sense, and

not the ex-

press Words

set down by

him.

LXVIII. I have a great many other Prophecies in Store, but I forbear, concluding what has been produc'd, to be enough in Reason for the Conviction of such as have Ears, that will admit 'em to a fair Hearing, and Understandings prepar'd for Truth. I can hardly persuade my self, that you can take us for such Romancers, as those who dress up Stories about the fictitious Progeny of *Jove*, mighty Talkers, but able to prove nothing. For what Motive cou'd ever possibly have persuaded us to believe a Crucify'd Man to be the first begotten of the unbegotten God, and that He shou'd come to be the Judge of all the World. Had we not met with those prophetick Testimonies of Him, proclaim'd so long before his Incarnation? Were we not Eye-Witnesses to the fulfilling of them? Did we not see the Desolation of *Judea*, and Men out of all Nations, profelyted to the Faith by His Apostles, and renouncing the ancient Errors they were brought up in? Did we not find the Prophecies made

good

good in our selves, and see Christians in greater Number, and in greater Sincerity from among the Gentiles, than from the Jews and Samaritans? For all sorts of People are by the prophetick Spirit styl'd *Gentiles*, but the Jews and Samaritans stand distinguish'd by the Name of the *House of Israel and Jacob*.

LXIX. And how this also was foretold, that there should be more Believers from the Gentiles than from the Jews and Samaritans, I propose this Prophecy to your Consideration, *Sing, O Barren, thou that didst not bear, break* Is. 54. 1. *forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with Child, for more are the Children of the Desolate, than the Children of the married Wife.* The Gentiles were the Desolate, a People not cultivated by the true God, but bewilder'd in the Worship of the Works of their own Hands, but the Jews and Samaritans had the Word of God deliver'd to 'em by the Prophets, and were always in Expectation of the Christ; and yet, when present, they had Eyes and saw Him not, except a small Remnant, whom the prophetick Spirit foretold should be saved: He speaks thus in the Person of the People, *Except the Lord of Hosts had* Is. 1. 9. *left unto us a very small Remnant, we shou'd have been as Sodom, and we shou'd have been like unto Gomorrah.* Now Sodom and Gomorrah are related by Moses to be Cities, whose Inhabitants were abominably wicked People, and which God destroy'd with Fire and Brimstone, and saved not one alive, besides a Chaldean Foreigner called Lot, and his Daughters; and that

that all this Country is a Defart, and burnt up, and barren to this Day, they who will give themselves the Trouble may see the Truth of it with their own Eyes. And how the Gentiles shou'd become the truest and most faithful Converts, the Prophet *Jeremy* thus intimates, *All the House of Israel are uncircumcised in the Heart, but the Gentiles in the Foreskin.*

LXX. So many therefore, and such mighty Proofs as your own Eyes are Witness to, cannot fail, methinks, of generating a firm and rational Faith in the Minds of those who are Lovers of Truth, and not carry'd away with Opiniatry and Passion; but the Instru-ctors of your Youth, who read 'em Lectures out of the Fables of the Poets, never let 'em into the Ground of these Fictions, and that they are the Work of ^t Devilcraft only, the better

* The Son of God no sooner enters upon his Prophetick Office, but the Devil attacks him in Person, and from Scripture; for as far as he was able to form any Conjecture from Scripture concerning the State of the new King and Kingdom, so far he endeavour'd to impose upon the World, by Rivalling it in his Kingdom of Darkness; he had his *Perseus* the Son of *Jove* by a Virgin, he had his Priests and Sacrifices, his Baptisms and Mock-Communions, &c. He had reign'd a long time as the God of this World, and taken Possession every where but in *Judæa*, and was in the most flourishing Condition when Christ came down to destroy his Kingdom; and tho' these evil Spirits did confess and tremble, and flee before Him, yet did their Power continue for some Ages after, and seems to be permitted by Providence so to do, on purpose as one great Argument to proselyte the World by; for to their Power over evil Spirits do the first Christians constantly appeal upon all Occasions. Now after so much Evidence from Scripture and Antiquity, to say, as some have done, that Possessions were nothing but Diseases, and Oracles, and the like, were all pure Priestcraft, which the Fathers by the true Name call Devilcraft, is in short to say any thing, to render the Name of Priest in general odious. But if the Christians

better to delude Mankind, and hold 'em in Darknes, I shall now prove. For these devilish Spirits no sooner understood by the Prophets, that Christ was to come, and the Ungodly to be punish'd with Fire, but they trump'd up that Crew of *Jove's* Sons above-said, imagining by this Forgery to debauch the World into an Opinion, that these Prophecies concerning Christ were just such another pack of Lyes as the Fables of the Poets; and these Stories they divulg'd among the Greeks, and all the Gentiles, when they learn'd from the Prophets, that these were the People that shou'd mostly come over to the Christian Faith; but not diving far enough into the Sense of the Prophets, they attempted to copy after them, and, like Men in the dark, blunder'd in their Imitation, as I shall now shew you.

LXXI. The Prophet *Moses* then, as I have said, was the ancientest of Writers, and he deliver'd this Prophecy, which I have already quoted, *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah*, Genes. 49. *nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until^{10.} Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the People be, binding his Foal unto the Vine, and washing his Garments in the Blood of the Grape.* Upon hearing these prophetick Words, the Devils set up *Bacchus* for the Son of *Jove*, and make him the Inventor of the Vine, and

Christians of the first Ages did cast out Devils so frequently, as they say they did, and which you will find, in these Apologies, they insist upon oftner than in any one thing in their Writings; then I leave it to any considering Person, what Deference is due to the Judgments of those who were gifted with such a miraculous Power for the Propagation of the Christian Doctrine.

introduce an ^v Afs into his Myſteries, and give out, that after he was torn in pieces he aſcended into Heaven. And becauſe it is not expreſſly determin'd in this Prophecy of *Mofes*, whether He who was to come was the Son of God, and whether He who ſhou'd ride upon the Foal was to continue upon Earth, or to aſcend into Heaven; and the Word *Foal* denoting either the Foal of an Afs or a Mare; not knowing, I ſay, which of the two was to be a Symbol of His Advent, or whether He ſhou'd be the Son of God or Man, they proclaim'd *Bellerophon*, a meer Man of Man, to have aſcended upto Heaven upon his Horſe *Pegasus*. Moreover, finding by another Prophet *Iſaiah*, that He was to be born of a Virgin, and aſcend to Heaven by Himſelf, they forg'd a *Perſeus* to mimic Him in this alſo: And when they ſaw Him deſcrib'd by the Prophecies, *Rejoycing as a Gyant to run his Courſe*, they preach'd up the Gyant *Hercules* running over the whole Earth. And again, percieving by the Prophets, that He was to cure all ſorts of Diſeaſes, and to raiſe the Dead, they palm'd their *Æſculapius* upon the World, to ape Him in this alſo.

LXXII. But here the Devils were out in their Politicks, not to have one of *Jove's* Sons crucify'd in Imitation of Chriſt: But this, as I

^v Theſe ſeveral Inſtances of diabolical Imitation you may find more particularly illuſtrated by our *Juſtin*, in his excellent Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew; and to the leſs knowing I wou'd recommend that done into Engliſh by no ill Hand. I have conſulted Dr. *Grabe's Spicilegium* for changing οἶνον into ὄνον, and think his Reaſons concluſive.

have shew'd you, being symbolically represented, they cou'd not spell out the meaning of the Symbol; tho' the Cross, according to the Prophet, was the great Characteristick of His Power and Government, and is visible almost in every thing we see; for cast your Eyes upon the World, and tell me, whether any thing is transacted, any Commerce maintain'd, without the Resemblance of a Cross? Without this^w Trophy of ours you cannot go to Sea, for Navigation depends upon Sails, and they are made in fashion of a Cross; there is neither plowing nor digging, nor any Handicraft Work perform'd without Instruments of this Figure; nay, a Man is distinguish'd from a Beast by the Uprightness of his Body, and the Extension of his Arms, and the Prominency of the Nose he breaths thro', which are all Representations of the Cross, in Allusion to which the Prophet thus speaks, *The^x Breath of*

^w Concerning the Sign of the Cross, you will find among all the earliest Writers of the Church, that they constantly made use of it, not only in the Sacrament of Baptism, but in all the common Actions of Life; for *Tertullian de Cor. Mil. cap. 3. p. 102.* tells us, that upon every Motion, at their going out, and coming in, at their going to the Bath, or to Bed, or to Meals, or whatever their Employment or Occasions called them to, they were wont *frontem signaculo terere*, to make the Sign of the Cross upon their Forehead; and this they did, he moreover adds, not that it was impos'd by any Law of Christ, but introduc'd by a pious Custom, as a sensible Means to revive their Faith, and remind 'em of their Lord, and to let the Heathen World see that they glory'd in their Crucify'd Master, who was Foolishness to the Gentile, and a stumbling Block to the Jew upon this very Account; but how far they were from adoring a Cross, as was objected against them, you will see sufficiently answer'd and ridicul'd in the following Apologies.

^x These Words are literally understood of King *Jesiah*, or *Zedekiah*, but mystically apply'd by the Fathers in general to our Saviour

of our Nostrils Christ the Lord. Moreover, your Banners declare the Power of this Figure, and y the Trophies you use every where in your publick Processions, are Symbols of Power and Dominion, altho' in your Practice you have no Respect to the Reason of the Figure; and the Images of your departed Emperors you consecrate upon Crosslike Engines, and inscribe them Gods. Since therefore we invite you by Reason and the Cereimony of the Cross, so much in vogue among you, we know we shall be blameless for the future, whether you embrace the Faith or not, for we have ^z done our best to make you Christians.

LXXIII. But these restless Dæmons not contented to soist upon the Gentile World the fictitious Sons of *Jove*, before the Coming of Christ but even after his Appearance and publick Converse with Men, when they found by the Prophets that all Nations shou'd come to fix their Faith and Expectation on Him, they rais'd up another Sett of Impostors, namely, *Simon*, and *Menander*, both *Samaritans*, who by their Magick Arts have impos'd upon ma-

Christ, and this occasion'd by the Version of the *Septuagint*, which has not *Χριστός κυεύς*, the Anointed of the Lord, as *Josiah* was, but *Χριστός κύριος*, Christ the Lord, which can hardly be understood of any but our Saviour Christ. See *Dr. Grube's* Notes upon this Place.

^y Here is a *Desideratum*, which I have fill'd up and connected as well as I can.

^z I desire the Reader once again to take notice of this Expression, *ὅαν δύνανται*, which cannot possibly, I think, signifie in this Place any thing else than what I have translated it; viz. *We have done our best*; because this Expression has been urg'd against 1st Forms of Prayer, with how little Reason I shall shew anon, when I come to the Passage from whence they urge it.

ny, and do as yet hold 'em in the same Delusion; for in the Reign of *Claudius Cæsar* in your Imperial City of *Rome*, there was one *Simon*, as I told you, who bewitch'd the sacred Senate, and the Roman People into that Astonishment of his Person, as to conceit him a God, and to honour him with a Statue like the other Gods. Wherefore our Petition is, that you would communicate this Apology, both to the sacred Senate, and to the People of *Rome*, that if any of 'em shou'd chance to be hamper'd in his Doctrines, they might, upon this Information, disengage themselves from the Error; and we likewise pray, that you would be pleased to pull down his Statue.

LXXIV. These seducing Spirits likewise do all they can to smother the Notion of Hell Fire, but to as little purpose as they attempted to stifle the Coming of Christ from the Knowledge of the World; for all they can do, is only to prevail with unreasonable People; such as have been Slaves to their Lusts, and blindly take up with the Opinions in Fashion; these, I say, are the only People they work upon to hunt us out of our Lives; and yet to these mortal Enemies are we so far from returning Hatred for Hatred, that from our Hearts we pity them, and desire nothing more than to bring 'em over to a better Mind. For we are under no Concern for Death, being very sensible that all must dye, and that there is nothing new under the Sun, but what has been, is. And if nothing here below will satisfy the Owners thereof, no, not the Year about, so as to secure their

Minds from Wants and Passions, the only way left, is to apply to our Religion for that Satisfaction, which is no where else to be found. But if they believe nothing after Death, and are positive that the Dead depart into a State of Insensibility, they do indeed befriend us in Effect, by discharging us from the present Sufferings and Hardships of this Life, but then they shew themselves wicked, spiteful, and positive to the last Degree in this their Opinion, for tho' they do free us from all Evil by destroying us, yet they do it not with this Intent, but to deprive us only of Life, and all the Pleasures that belong to it.

LXXV. Another prime Agent for the Kingdom of Darkness, whom these Spirits of Wickedness brought upon the Stage, was one *Marcion* of *Pontus*, whom I have already mention'd. This Fellow now teaches his Followers to deny God the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and His Son Christ proclaim'd by the Prophets, and preaches up another God besides the Creator, and another Son besides His Christ; upon whom abundance of People pin their Faith, as the only Teacher of the Truth, and make a mock at us, without so much as offering at a Proof of their own Assertions; but are blindly carry'd off like Lambs by a Wolf, and made a Prey to his wicked Doctrines, and to the Devils, the Contrivers of them. For the only Prize these same Spirits contend for, is to seduce Mankind from God the Creator, and from His First-begotten Christ. And such groveling Minds as cannot lift themselves from
 *
 Earth,

Earth, they did, and do, fasten to Earthen Gods, Gods made with Hands, and fitted to the Minds of the Worshippers; but upon Men of a more exalted Genius, and enur'd to divine Contemplations, they practise more slyly; and if they are not Persons of sound Judgment, and pious Lives, and disengag'd from Passion, they throw 'em down from their Speculations into very gross Impieties.

LXXVI. But to let you see, that not only your Poets, but *Plato* himself borrow'd from our Master (I mean from the *Logos* who spake by the Prophets) I must tell you, that what he teaches concerning God's creating the World out of a Chaos of rude Matter, is none of his own; for, hear the express Words of *Moses* aforesaid, the greatest of Prophets, and older than any of the Græcian Writers, by whom the Prophetick Spirit, showing how, and out of what sort of Matter God made the World in the Beginning, thus speaks, *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth, And the Earth was without Form, and void, and Darkness was upon the Face of the Deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters, and God said let there be Light, and there was Light.* And that this Chaos, first mention'd by *Moses*, was the Subject Matter out of which the *Logos* of God made the World, both *Plato* and his Followers, and we, are agree'd; and you your selves may soon be satisfy'd as to this Point; and what your Poets call *Erebus*, or Hell, is spoken of by *Moses* also.

Gen. I. 1. 2.

Deut. 32.

LXXVII. And whereas *Plato*, in his *Timæus*, philosophising about the Son of God, says, *He^a express'd Him upon the Universe in the Figure of the Letter X*; he evidently took the Hint from *Moses*, for in the *Mosaick Writings* it is related, that after the *Israelites* went out of *Egypt*, and were in the Desert, they were set upon and destroy'd by venomous Beasts, Vipers, Asps, and all sorts of Serpents, and that *Moses* thereupon, by particular Inspiration from God, took Brass and made the Sign of the Cross, and placed it by the Holy Tabernacle, and declar'd, that ^b *if People would look upon that Cross, and believe, they should be sav'd*; upon which he writes that the Serpents dy'd, and by this means the People were sav'd. *Plato* upon reading this Passage, and not knowing it to be a Type of the Cross, and having only the Idea of the Letter X in his Mind, said, that the next Power to the Supreme God was decussated or figured in the Shape of a Cross, upon the Universe; and finding by *Moses* that the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters, he likewise mentions a third, for he gives the second place to the *Logos* of God decussated upon the World, and the third Place he assigns to the Spirit, which is said to move upon the

^a See *Sylburg* upon this Place, at the end of Dr. *Grabe's* Edition.

^b *Εὖν προσέλαμπλε.*] These Words of *Moses* are not extant in Holy Scripture, tho' the Sense is, *Numb.* 21. 9. nor are those of the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *cap.* 12. v. 21. and so perhaps both quoted out of the same Apocryphal Book of *Moses* which might be then extant.

Face of the Waters, thus expressing himself, *The*
c Third about the Third. And how the prophe-
 tick Spirit has foretold the general Conflagra-
 tion by the Mouth of *Moses*, you may perceive
 from these Words, *An everlasting Fire shall de-* Deutr. 22.
scend and burn unto the lowest Hell. 32.

LXXVIII. ^d It is not therefore we who take
 our Opinions from others, but others take theirs
 from us; for you may hear and learn these
 things from such among us, as are not able to
 distinguish a Letter: Rude indeed, and barba-
 rous in Speech, but in Mind wise and faithful;
 and some of 'em lame and blind, that from
 hence you might plainly see, that Christianity

^c See Dr. *Grabe's* Notes upon this Passage of *Plato*.

^d This Section alone I think sufficient to vindicate our *Justin*
 from the Aspersions of *Daniel Zuicker* and others, who charge him
 with Platonizing in the great Doctrine of the Trinity; they well
 knew the Authority of this Martyr in the Christian Church, and
 how frequently and expressly he asserts the Divinity of Father, Son,
 and Holy Ghost; and therefore resolv'd to invalidate his Testimo-
 ny by charging him with introducing the Trinity from *Plato's* School.
 But hear the Martyr in this Place obviating this Calumny, as if he
 prophetically foresaw what would be charg'd upon him. He had
 a little before said, that *Plato* had learn'd that the World was made
 by the *Logos*, and that the Third Person in the Godhead, viz. the
 Spirit, was not unknown to him; and then adds, *That we take*
not our Opinions from others, but others from us. This is express,
 that neither *Justin*, nor any of the Christians, deriv'd the Doctrine
 of the *Logos's* creating the World from the *Platonick* Writings, but
 they from the Writings of the Prophets. Moreover, he declares
 before the Emperor and Senate, that this was no singular Opinion
 of his own, but the Doctrine of the Catholick Church; and that
 this tremendous Mystery was so commonly known to every Christi-
 an, that the most illiterate amongst 'em, such as could not read
 their Alphabet, could discourse more clearly about it, than even
Plato himself. And from hence he justly concludes, that the Chri-
 stians learn'd this Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity ἡ σοφία ἀν-
 θεωπετα, not from the Platonists, &c. but *δωάμενοι θεῷ*, from the
 divinely inspir'd Writings, and what was taught every where in the
 Churches.

is not owing to human Wisdom, but to the Power of God.

LXXIX. I shall now lay before you the manner of dedicating our selves to God, thro' Christ, upon our Conversion; for shou'd I omit this I might seem not to deal sincerely in this Account of the Christian Religion. As many therefore as are^e persuaded, and believe, that the things taught and said by us are true, and moreover take upon them to live accordingly, are taught to pray and ask of God with Fasting the Forgiveness of their former Sins; we praying together, and fasting for and with

* The Church being founded by Christ as a Society and Corporation distinct from that of the Commonwealth, is by the Nature of its Constitution (had it no express Warrant from Scripture) invested with an inherent Power of its own, independent on the Civil Magistrate, of admitting, censuring, or excluding her Members, and of doing whatever else is necessary for the Peace and Order of the Christian Community. According to Faith and Repentance are here requir'd as necessary Qualifications in Persons adult, before they can be admitted to Church-Membership by Baptism; and then, says *Justin*, they are brought to a Place of Water.—Not presently, (for you are not to look upon this as an exact Account of all the particular Circumstances either in Baptism or the Eucharist) for the Candidates for Baptism were catechis'd all the forty Days of Lent, (which is the Fasting, I believe, *Justin* refers to in this Place) and then upon Approbation, baptiz'd at *Easter* or *Whitsuntide*; These were the two stated Times of Baptism; not *Easter Day*, or *Whitsunday* precisely, but the whole intermediate Space of the fifty Days between them, were in a manner accounted Festival, and Baptism administered the whole time; not but in a Case of Necessity, of Sickneſs, and Danger of Death, they might be baptiz'd at any time. But the Persons so baptiz'd were called *Clinicks*, because ἐν τῇ κλινῇ βαπτίζουσιν, baptiz'd in Bed; and this kind of Baptism looked upon as less solemn and perfect, because 'twas done not by immersion but sprinkling, and because the Persons were suppos'd at such a time to desire it out of a Fear of Death; for which Reason, if they recover'd, they were ordinarily made incapable by the *Nicean* Council of being admitted to the Degree of Presbyters in the Church. *Can 12.*

them,

them, and then, *and not till then*, they are brought to a Place of Water, and there rege-

[*They were brought to a Place of Water.*] 'Tis evident from this Place of *Justin*, and that of *Tertullian*, *de Cor. Mil. c. 3.* that Ponds and Rivers were the only Baptisteries or Fonts the Church had for the first two hundred Years. After the second Century, Baptisteries were erected at a little distance from Churches, especially Cathedrals, called therefore Baptismal Churches. The Catechumen, or rather the Competent, being brought to the Baptistry, was placed with his Face toward the West, the Symbolical Representation of the Prince of Darkness, and then commanded to spit at, and renounce the Service of his old Master the Devil, and was thus interrogated, *Dost thou renounce the Devil and all his Works?* &c. to which the Party answer'd, *I do renounce them.* *Dost thou renounce the World, and all its Poms and Vanities?* Answer. *I do renounce them,* *Ambr. de Sacram. l. 1. c. 2. tom. 4. p. 429.* Hier. in *Amos 6.* Agreeable to this is that in the Apostolical Constitutions, *lib. 7.* Ἀπολίστασαι τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἑσσοῖς αὐτοῦ, &c. Next he made an open Confession of the Faith, the Bishop asking, *Dost thou believe in God,* &c. to which the Person answer'd, *I do believe.* And this Form of Interrogation is the Apostle thought to refer to, when he styles Baptism, *The Answer of a good Conscience towards God.* And our own Office of Baptism does exactly agree in this with the Primitive Practice. Then was he stript of his Garments, intimating thereby the putting off the old Man, and thrice plung'd under Water at the naming of the Three Persons in the blessed Trinity. The Ancients carefully observed this Trine Immersion, as being so expressive a Ceremony of the Three Persons in the Godhead; in so much, that by the Canons Apostolical, either Bishop or Presbyter who baptiz'd without it, was depos'd from his Ministry, *Can. 50.* Tho' this Trine Immersion, not being of absolute Necessity, was laid aside in *Spain* by the Church, that they might not seem to gratifie the *Arians*, who made use of it to denote the Persons in the Trinity to be three distinct Substances; and glory'd that the Catholics us'd it to denote the same. The Person baptiz'd being come out of the Water was cloath'd with a white Garment, hence that Expression of putting on Christ; and from these white Garments our *Whitsunday*. The putting on this white Vesture, the Exorcism, and the Unction, are all in the Liturgy of *Edward the Sixth*, according to the Custom of the Ancients. Tho' we find none of these, nor many other things mention'd here by *Justin*, no not the Cross in Baptism, which we are sure was a constant Ceremony; for *Tertullian* says, that the Devil sign'd his Soldiers in the Forehead, in Imitation of the Christians, *Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos. Ter. de præscrip. c. 40.* And *St. Austin* says. That the Cross and Baptism were never parted, *Semper enim Cruci Baptismus jungitur. Aug. Temp. Ser. 101.*

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nerated after the same manner with our selves; for they are wash'd in the Name of God the Father, and Lord of All, and of our Saviour

John 3. 3, 5. Jesus Christ; for Christ has said, *Unless you are born again you cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* (But you all know 'tis impossible to enter a second time into our Mothers Womb) and in Allusion to this, the Prophet *Isaiah*, in the Words above cited, speaks, when he prescribes the Method by which repenting Sinners may avoid the Consequence of their Sins; *Wash ye, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings, learn to do well, judge the Fatherless, and plead for the Widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord, though your Sins be as Scarlet, they shall be as white as Snow; tho' they be red like Crimson, they shall be as Wool. But if you refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the Sword, for the Mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.*

LXXX. The Reason of this we have from the Apostles, for having nothing to do in our first Birth, but being begotten by Necessity, or without our own Consent, and train'd up also in vicious Customs and Company, to the end therefore we might continue no longer the Children of Necessity and Ignorance, but of Freedom and Knowledge, and obtain Remission of our past Sins by Vertue of this Water, the Penitent, who now makes his second Birth an Act of his own Choice, has call'd over him the Name of God the *Father*, and *Lord* of all things. (When we conduct the Person to be baptized to the Place of Baptism we call
God

God by no other Name ; because we have not any Appellation for the ineffable Majesty of God, that can explain his Nature ; and if any Man pretends to that, we think him mad in the highest Degree ; this Baptism is called ^s Illumination, because the Minds of the Catechumens who are thus washed are illuminated ;) and moreover the Person baptiz'd and illuminated, is baptiz'd in the Name of Jesus Christ who was ^h crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*, and in

^s *Illumination.*] Baptism was called by many Names, as Χάρισμα, Βάπτισμα, Ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, Λύζον παλίσγεννησίας, Σφραγίδα, Φωτισμὸν, &c. Grace, Baptism, the Vestment of Incorruption, the Laver of Regeneration, the Seal, Illumination, &c. *Nazian. de Baptis.* The great Variety of these Denominations flowing from the several Benefits occurring thereby. The most noble of these is what *Justin* calls here φωτισμὸν, or *Illumination*, to which the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, c. 6. v. 4. is thought to refer in the Word *Inlightned*. It is styl'd Illumination, 1st, as *Justin* says, Because the Understandings of those who are catechiz'd antecedent to it are inlightned. 2^{dly}, Because it is our first entrance into Christianity, and Christ is τὸ φῶς, that supereminent Light which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World, those especially who are born again by Baptism ; He being, as *Nazianzen* calls Him, *The same to the Intellect, as the Sun to the Sense*. And 3^{dly}, Because the Prince of Darkness was usually driven out by Exorcism to make way for Christ, the true Light.

^h Ἐπονομάζει ὄνομα, just before the Parenthesis, and ἐπ' ὀνόματι & λέει, just after, are Expressions which import the same. Now that which I remark from this Passage of *Justin Martyr*, is, That the very Form of Baptism, instituted by our Lord Himself, is here enlarg'd, for thus it runs,—ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁλων καὶ θεοῦ, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σωθέντος ἐν Πόντῳ Πιλάτῃ, καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ὁ διὰ Προφητῶν προεκήρυξε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα : In the Name of the Father of all things, the Lord God, and of Jesus Christ, who was crucify'd under Pontius Pilate, and of the Holy Ghost, who foretold by the Prophets all things concerning Christ. In the *Clementine Constitutions*, the Form of Baptism stands thus, ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ προσείλαντος Πατρὸς, τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα. *Clem. Constit. lib. 7.* In the Name of the Father, who sent, of Christ, who came, and of the Comforter,

who

in the Name of the Holy Ghost who spake by the Prophets, and foretold every thing concerning Christ.

LXXXI. The Devils no sooner heard of this Baptism spoken of by the Prophet, but they too, set up their Baptisms, and made such as

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who bore Witness. Now as different Heresies arose, so they gave Occasion for different Paraphrases and Enlargements, both in the Form of Baptism, and the Creed. And this is the true Reason why the Apostles Creed is the simplest and shortest of any; for 'tis evident that the *Simonians*, *Cerinthians*, *Ebionites*, &c. scatter'd their Heresies not at *Rome*, but in the East, and mostly in *Asia*. And accordingly, *Ignatius*, in his Epistles to the *Asiatick Churches*, does every where, almost, inveigh against the Hereticks, but commends the *Romans* for the Purity of their Faith. And *Tertullian* in his *Præscription*, cap. 36. calls the Roman Church *Statu felicem Ecclesiam*. From hence I cannot but take notice of the Reasons of some great Men against the Antiquity of that which is commonly called the *Apostles Creed*: They say, *That none of the first Writers agree in delivering their Faith in a certain Form of Words, and that therefore, from thence it is clear, that there was no common Form deliver'd to all the Churches; and if there had been any Tradition after the Times of the Council of Nice, of such a Creed compos'd by the Apostles, the Arians had certainly put the chief Strength of their Cause on This, That they adhered to the Apostles Creed in Opposition to the Innovations of the Nicene Fathers. And that there is no Reason therefore to believe, that this Creed was prepar'd by the Apostles, or that it was of any great Antiquity.* The same sort of reasoning has *Vossius* made use of, *de trib. Symbol.* But now 'tis confess'd on all sides, that in *St. Paul's* time there was a settled Form in most Churches, which he calls *The Form of Doctrine that was deliver'd*, Rom. 6. 17. and in another Place, *The Form of Sound Words*, 2 Tim. 1. 13. 'Tis certain also, that the Primitive Church, not far distant from the Apostolick Age, had a Creed resembling this, which passes for the Apostle's, as to most Particulars, and the Substance of the Articles, tho' with some variation, as is evident from *Tertullian's Regula Fidei*, *Vid. Tertul. de vel. viing. & Cypr. Epist. 7. & Epist. 70.* And if we consider the manner of the Fathers, and *Justin* in particular, in citing even Canonical Scripture, which was not always to consult the Originals, but often to deliver it in such Words as their Memory suggested, provided they preserv'd the Sense entire; we may conclude that from the same Liberty in citing the Confessi-

go to their Temples, and officiate in their Libations, and Meat-Offerings, first ⁱ sprinkle themselves with Water by way of Lustration; and they have now brought it to such a pass, that the Worshippers are wash'd from Head to Foot, before they approach the sacred Place where their Images are kept. And whereas their Adorers are commanded by Priests to ^k put off their Shoes before they presume to enter the Temples to worship these Dæmons, this is evidently done to mimick what they found

on of Faith, arose the Diversity in Creeds. And with all Submission I think, that the Men who argue against the Antiquity of the Apostle's Creed, from the Variations among the Fathers, may as well argue against a sett Form in Baptism from this Variation in *Justin Martyr*. As Heresies grew, so did the Creed, and the Fathers may with as good Reason be presum'd to enlarge the Apostles Creed with explanatory Additions only; as here we find the Form of Baptism, fix'd by Christ himself, enlarg'd in the time of this Martyr, but the Form is the same in Substance or Essentials; and the great Creed is called the *Nicene*, tho' many things were added to it by the Council of *Constantinople*, and some things since.

ⁱ That such Mock-Baptisms were set up by the Contrivance of the Devil in the Gentile World, we find not only asserted by *Justin*, but all the Primitive Writers, and particularly by *Tertullian*, *de Baptismo*, c. 5. *Certe ludis Apollinaribus & Eleusiniis tinguntur, idque se in regenerationem & impunitatem perjuriorum suorum agere presumunt*. Thus were Men initiated into the Mysteries of *Eleusis*, and he who initiated them was called *Υδραυός* the Waterer. *Υδραυός δ' ἀφύσιντος ὧς Ἐλεσινίων*. *Hesych*. Thus again we learn from *Tertullian* that they initiated Men into the Rites of *Isis* and *Mithra*, *Nam & sacris quibusdam per lavacrum initiantur Isidis alicujus & Mithræ*. *de Bapt.* c. 5. the chief Priest of that Goddess (as *Apuleius* describes his own Initiation) *Milesi*. II. *citat. a Seldeno de success. ad leg. Hebr.* c. 26. leading the Party to be initiated to the next Bath, where having first deliver'd him to the usual washing, and ask'd Pardon of the Goddess, he sprinkled him all about, and bringing him back to the Temple, after two parts of the Day were spent, plac'd him before the Feet of the Goddess. See more on this Subject in *Grotius* upon *Matt. cap. 28. v. 19*.

^k *Vid. Tertul. Apol. cap. 40.*

commanded the Prophet *Moses*; for while *Moses* was feeding the Sheep of his Father-in-Law in *Arabia*, he was commanded to go down into *Egypt*, and to bring out the People of *Israel*; and our Christ talked with him out of the Bush in the Appearance of Fire, and said,

Exod. 3. 5.

Put off thy Shoes, and come and hear; and accordingly he put off his Shoes, and went and heard that he was to go down into *Egypt* and conduct the *Israelites* from thence; and being appointed with prodigious Power by that Christ who conversed with him out of the Bush of Fire, he went and brought the People out, doing great and astonishing Actions; the Particulars of which, if you have a mind to it, you may exactly see in his own Writings.

LXXXII. But all the modern Jews teach that it was the unnameable God, who thus convers'd with *Moses*, upon which Account the prophetick Spirit, by the Mouth of the Prophet *Isaiah*, reprehends 'em in these Words already quoted, *The Ox knoweth the Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib, but Israel doth not know me, my People hath not understood me*. And because the Jews were ignorant what the Father and the Son was, Jesus Christ himself thus corrects them, *No Man knoweth the Father but the Son, nor the Son, but them to whom the Son will reveal him*. But as I have said, the *Logos* of God is His Son, and is also called Angel and ¹ Apostle; for He Himself did deliver as an
Angel

Is. I. 3.

Mat. I I. 27.

¹ Christ is called the Angel, *Exod.* 3. 2. but no where the Apostle (as Dr. *Grabe* observes) but in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*,
cap.

Angel or Messenger what the World was to know, and acted as an Apostle, as One sent to interpret the divine Will, as our Lord Himself has testify'd, *he that heareth me, heareth Him that sent me.* Mat. 10.40. The same is also evident from the Mosaick Writings, where we have these Words, *And the Angel of God spake unto Moses in a Flame of Fire out of the midst of a Bush, and said, I am that I am, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaack, and the God of Jacob, the God of your Fathers, go down into Egypt, and bring up my People from thence.* Exod. 3.2, 14, 15. If you are desirous of knowing what follows, I must refer you to the Scriptures themselves, for 'tis not possible to transcribe all into a Discourse of this Nature.

LXXXIII. But these Words were spoken to demonstrate the Son of God and Apostle, to be our Jesus Christ, who is the very pre-existing *Logos*; who appear'd sometimes in the Form of Fire; sometimes in the Likeness of Angels, and in these last Days was made Man by the Will of God, for the Salvation of Mankind, and was contented to suffer what the Devils cou'd inflict upon Him, by the infatuated Jews; who notwithstanding they have these express Words in the Writings of Moses, *And the Angel of the Lord spake with Moses in a Flame of Fire out of the Bush, and said, I am that I am, the Self-existent, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob;* notwithstand-

cap. 3. v. 1. from whence he justly concludes, that this Epistle was known to, and approved by *Justin Martyr*.

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ing this, I say, they affirm these Words to be spoken by God the Father, and Maker of all things. For which oversight the Prophetick Spirit thus charges 'em, *Israel hath not known me, my People have not understood me*; and as I have said, Jesus taxed 'em again for the same thing, while He was amongst them, *No Man hath known the Father but the Son, nor the Son, but them to whom the Son will reveal Him*. The Jews therefore for maintaining that it was the Father of the Universe who had the Conference with *Moses*, when it was the very Son of God who had it, and who is styl'd both Angel and Apostle, are justly accus'd by the prophetick Spirit, and Christ Himself, for knowing neither the Father nor the Son; for they who affirm the Son to be the Father, are guilty of not knowing the Father, and likewise of being ignorant that the Father of the Universe has a Son, who being the *Logos*, and First-begotten of God, *is*^m *God*. And He it is who heretofore appear'd to *Moses* and the rest of the Prophets, sometimes in Fire, and sometimes in the Form of Angels: But now, under your Empire, as I mention'd, was born of a Virgin, according to the Will of His Father, to save such as should believe in Him, and was content to be made of no Reputation, and to suffer, that by His Death and Resurrection He might conquer Death. And

^m *Who being the Logos, and First-begotten of God, ὁ Θεὸς ὡς ὁ Χρὶς, is God.*] I desire to know what the worst of Justin's Adversaries can say to this, whether Words can be more express for the Divinity of the Son, than ὁ Θεὸς ὡς ὁ Χρὶς, *He is the very God*.

whereas

whereas it was said to *Moses* out of the Bush, *I am that I am, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, and the God of your Fathers.* The Design of these Words is to prove, that notwithstanding these Men were dead, yet were they in a State of Happiness; and that Christ is the God of these Men, and their mighty Deliverer: For these Men of Old sequester'd themselves from the World, to seek after God; and as *Moses* relates, *Abraham* was the Father of *Isaac*, and *Isaac* the Father of *Jacob*.

LXXXIV. Moreover, that it was a Contrivance of the Devils to erect the Image of *Core* upon Fountains of Water, whom they reported to be *Jove's* Daughter, to ape *Moses*, you may easily collect from what I have quoted before; *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth, and the Earth was without Form, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters.* In Imitation of this Spirit moving upon the Waters, they set up the Idol *Core*, or *Proserpina* upon the Waters, and gave her out to be the Daughter of *Jove*. Just such another Forgery was the setting up *Minerva* for *Jove's* Daughter, not by any carnal Mixture, but because they found that God reflecting upon Himself made the World by His *Logos* or Wisdom, they fram'd this *Minerva* to be the Issue of *Jove's* Brain, or his First-begotten Notion. Tho' I cannot but think it extremely ridiculous to represent the Notion of a Mind by the Form of a Woman. In like manner, the Actions which are attributed to

the Sons of *Jove*, evidently proves the Sons to be of the same Stamp with the Daughters.

LXXXV. After the Believer is baptized, and so incorporated or made one with us, we lead him to the Congregation of the Brethren, as we call them, and then with great Fervency pour out our Souls in Commonⁿ Prayers both for
our

ⁿ Κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι—πανταχὶ πάντων ἐξόνως.] They are called Common Prayers, because the whole Congregation did joyn with the Bishop in them. This therefore must be a set Form of Prayer, or else they could not joyn in it; and therefore St. *Cyprian* speaking of the Lord's Prayer, which was that Form which the whole Congregation repeated together, says, *Publica est nobis & communis Oratio*, A publick and common Prayer is in use among us. *Cypr. de Orat. Domin.* What this Form of Prayer was, *Justin* does not tell us, but he tells us in general, *That they pray'd for themselves, for the Person baptiz'd, and for all others all the World over, &c.* More Particulars of this Liturgy you may see quoted out of the Apostolick Constitutions by Dr. *Grabe* in his Notes upon this Place. But I observe that *Irenæus* is as shy as *Justin*, of publishing the Forms in any of the Christian Offices, tho' he speaks both of Baptism, and of the Eucharist, and of the Prayers and Praises there in general: Only when some Hereticks had drawn false Conclusions from the Doxology to support their own Opinions he is forc'd to say, Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ εὐχαριστίας λέγομεν, εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *They alledge that we in our Thanksgivings do say World without end, Iren. adv. her. l. i. c. i. p. 16* From hence we may conclude, that in *Irenæus's* time, *An. D. 179*, the Christians praised God in Publick by this very Form which we now use, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, World without end. Amen.* And *Tertullian*, in his *Apology*, frequently says, *We pray for the Emperors and their Minist'rs, for secular Potentates, &c.* And *Clemens* says, *Let the Deacon pray for the Universal Church, the whole World, for the Priests and Governors, for the Chief Priests and Kings, and the general Peace. Constit. l. 2. c. 51.* And to mention but one more: *Cyril*, declaring the Practice of his time at the Celebration of the Eucharist, says thus, ἐν τῇ εὐχαριστίας ἐκείνῃ τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ, &c. *Over this propitiatory Sacrifice we call upon God for the general Peace of all Churches, for the Tranquillity of the World, for Emperors, their Armies, and all that fight for them. Gatech. 10.* Now that which I wou'd infer from these Quotations, is this, That the Primitive Fathers could not have insisted upon these

our selves, for the Person baptiz'd, and for all others all the World over; that having embrac'd the Truth, our Conversation might be as becometh the Gospel, and that we may be found Doers of the Word, and so at length be sav'd with an everlasting Salvation. Prayers being over we ° salute each other with a Kiss: After this, Bread and a Cup of Wine and Water are brought to the President ^P or Bishop, which

these Particulars, as a Proof of the Christian Loyalty, and universal Charity, if they had not constantly made these things the Subjects of their Prayers; and if they had us'd no stated Forms, *Ex tempore* Prayers had been too various and uncertain, to have been a Proof in this, or any other Case.

° The ἀγάπαι or Love-Fests, which at first were always joyn'd with the Eucharist, degenerating into Abuse and Scandal, (which were the Sports perhaps St. *Jude* alludes to) were soon laid aside in the Greek Church, and probably in the time of *Justin*, because he says nothing of 'em, and the Lord's Supper celebrated in the Morning fasting. Tho' 'tis certain these Feasts continued in the *African* Church till *Tertullian's* time, as you will find in his *Apology*, c. 39. However, that the Blessed Communion might still lay claim to the Title of a Love-Feast, it was attended with Ceremonies of the like import; whence upon the Entrance into this Holy Mystery the Deacon was appointed to cry aloud, μή τις κτ' τίνος, let no Man be at Strife, one with another. And this Proclamation once past, the holy Kiss and Embraces immediately followed, ἀλλήλους φιλήμασι ἀσπαζόμεθα πνευματικοὶ ἕως ἑυχῶν, that is, Prayers ended, we salute one another with an holy Kiss; but ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀλλήλους αἱ γυναῖκες, Men salute Men, and Women Women, and the Clergy the Bishop, as the Constitutions have it, lib. 2. c. 57. And it cou'd not indeed be well otherwise, considering the different Apartments in the Church for each Sex. *Const. Apost. lib. 2. cap. 57.*

^P Ἐπειτα προσέειρε ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἡς ἀδελφῶν.] The πρεσβύτερος, and the *Probat*i Seniores in *Tertullian*, *Apol.* c. 39. and the *Major*es *Natu* in St. *Cyprian*, *Epist.* 75. were undoubtedly Bishops, and so the οἱ πρεσβύτεροι προσεβύτεροι in St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. which we translate, tho' I think not well, *Ruling Elders*, were the same with πρεσβύτερος in *Justin*; such Elders as had the Power *Baptizandi & manuum imponendi & ordinandi*, Of baptizing, confirming, and ordaining, as *Cyprian* assures us, Privileges never pretended to at that

which he takes, and offers up Praise and Glory to the Father of all things, thro' the Name of

time by Lay-Elders. Nor were they Presbyters as distinct from Bishops, but Bishops in chief, and Presbyters in a fraternal consecration: For thus the same Father, *Epist.* 6. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἄνευ τοῦ βουλῆς τοῦ ἐμοῦ κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμένου, *from the beginning of my Episcopate I resolv'd to do nothing of my own Head without your Advice*; which shews that the Presbyters were admitted as joyn't Commissioners, but did nothing without leave from the Bishop; for without his leave neither Presbyters nor Deacons were permitted to baptize, except in Cases of necessity, as not only *Ignatius*, but *Tertullian* expressly tells us, *Epist. ad Smyrneos*, p. 6. *Tert. de bapt. c.* 17. p. 230. And we find in *Tertullian* that they never receiv'd the Sacrament but from the Hand of the President, *de Cor. mil. c.* 3. p. 102. which must either be understood of the particular Custom of the African Church, or of Consecration only. For here in *Justin Martyr* we find, that when the Bishop or President had consecrated the sacramental Elements by solemn Prayers and Blessings, the Custom was for the Deacon to distribute them to the People, both to the Absent as well as Present. See more of the Word *ἁγιασμός* in that excellent Treatise of Dean *Hickes*, concerning *The Dignity of the Episcopal Order*, p. 182. *ἁγίασμα καὶ ὕδατος καὶ κρημνίσματος*. That Wine mixt with Water was constantly made use of by the Primitive Christians, is beyond dispute from this Passage, and likewise from Dr. *Grabe's* Notes upon *Irenaeus. lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. The Reason of this Mixture was partly in Imitation of our Saviour's Act in the first Institution of the Eucharist, agreeable to the Custom of that warm Climate, which us'd to temper the heat of the Wine with Water; and partly, because that when our Saviour's Side was pierced with a Lance, there issued out both Water and Blood, *Joh.* 19. 34. And agreeable to this Primitive Practice, a little pure and clean Water was put into the Chalice of Wine at the Reformation, as you may see in the Rubrick of the Communion Office of the first Common Prayer Book of *Edward VI.* The Bread, and the Wine and Water, *ἁγιασμός καὶ ὕδατος καὶ κρημνίσματος*, are brought to the Bishop; These Words seem to me to make for that Practice which Dr. *Hickes* with such incomparable Zeal and Learning argues for in his Preface against *The Rights*; for he tells us, "That in the Alterations made in the Office for Administering the Lord's Supper, in King *Edward VI.*'s Service Book, "the Rubrick was left out, which commanded the Minister to set "the Bread and Wine upon the Altar, as an Offering; but this Rubrick was restor'd in the Office for the Church of Scotland, and "likewise in the Office of Holy Communion of our present Liturgy, establish'd by the Act of Uniformity after the Restauration. And

of his Son and the Holy Spirit; and this¹ Thanksgiving to God for vouchsafing us worthy of these His Creatures, is a Prayer of more than ordinary

And having justly censur'd the general neglect of this Act, and the great Indecency of having the Bread and Wine plac'd upon our Lord's Table by the Clerk, Sexton, or perhaps some *unsitter* Person: He adds, "That this Practice of the *Officiating* Priests setting "the Bread and Wine in the sight of the People, with Reverence "upon the Holy Table, was so inviolably observ'd in ancient Times, "that they had in their Churches a *Buffet* or Side-board on the "right or left Hand of the Altar, upon which a Priest or Deacon "set the Bread and Wine, from whence they were carried by the "Deacon or Priest, when there were two, to the *Officiating* Priest, "who reverently plac'd them as an Offering on the Lord's Table. This Side-board for the Elements and Holy Vessels was called in the Greek Church *Πεθεσις*, in the Latin Church *Paratorium*, and in Italy *Credenza*, in France *Credence*. And this ancient *Credenza* or Side-Table was made one Article against Archbishop *Laud* to prove that he endeavour'd to *subvert God's true Religion by Law establish'd in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry*. But I refer you to the excellent Preface aforesaid, p. 52, 53, &c. where you will find this at large, with many other Discoveries truly valuable.

¹ Our Blessed Saviour at the Institution of the Sacrament is said to have taken Bread and Wine and *blessed them*, *ευλοήσας, καὶ εὐχαρισήσας*, Matth. 26. v. 26, 27. Mark 14. v. 22, 23. but the Form of Blessing is not recorded by the Evangelists, nor any of the Apostles. However, the Primitive Fathers concluded, that Christ did as the Jews were wont to do; the Passover was a *Sacrifice*, and therefore the Viands here, as in all other Feasts, were first offered to God. Now the Bread and Wine which our Saviour took, when he blessed and gave Thanks, was the *Mincha*, or Meat-Offering of the Passover. If then Christ did as the Jews used to do, he agniz'd his Father, and blessed him, by Oblation of these his Creatures unto him; using the like or the same Form of Words, *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the World, which bringest forth Bread out of the Earth*: And over the Wine, *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the World, which createst the Fruit of the Vine*, Vide Mede p. 375. and Dr. Grabe's Notes upon this Place. In the Christian Sacrifice there were two distinct Parts, the *εὐχαριστία*, *Thanksgiving* to God for his good Creatures of Bread and Wine; and *ευλογία*, *Invocation* of his Blessing upon them. That these two were distinct things, the Consecration of the Elements made with Thanksgiving, not by it, but with *Blessing* joyn'd with Thanksgiving, in one continued Prayer, or in two distinct Forms; this, I say,

ordinary length. When the Bishop has finish'd the^r Prayers, and the Thanksgiving-Service, all

is evident both from *Justin* in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, and from this Place; in his Dialogue he describes the Eucharist or Thanksgiving Part thus, Ὁ κύριος παρίδωκε, ἵνα ἅμα τε εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Θεῷ ὡς τὸ ἵ ἐκείνου ἐκτίθεναι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὡς τὸ διὰ τὸ κακίας ἐν ἡμεῖς γενέσθαι ἐλευθερωθῆναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, καταλελυμέναι τελέαν κατέλυσιν διὰ τοῦ παθόντος ἡμεῖς καὶ τὸ βαλὼν αὐτῷ. *The Lord hath commanded, that together we should give thanks to God for the Creation of the World, and all things therein for the Benefit of Man; and for delivering us from the Misery wherein we were born, and for his destroying Principalities and Powers with a perfect Destruction, by him who suffer'd according to his Will.* And elsewhere he says, *That Prayers and Thanksgivings made by those that are worthy, are the only Sacrifices that are perfect and acceptable.*—And these he says (*Speaking of the Eucharist*) ἐπ' ἀναμνήσεως τὸ τὸ τεσσάρων αὐτῷ ἔνεός τε καὶ ὕψους, ἐν ἡ καὶ τὰ πάθος ὁ πέποιθε δι' αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς τὸ δεῖν μέμνην. In that thankful Remembrance of their Food both dry and wet, wherein also is commemorated the Passion which the God of God suffered by himself. And so again in this Place of the Apology, εὐχαριστίαν ὡς τὸ κατέλαβον τέτων, &c. *That God did vouchsafe them worthy of Bread and Wine.* So that in the Eucharist we have a two-fold Commemoration; the one of our Meat and Drink, by agnizing and recording God to be the Lord and Giver of the same, in Opposition to those Hereticks who deny'd him to be the Maker of the World; the other an Ἀνάμνησις, or Commemoration in the same Bread and Wine of the Passion of the Son of God; but for a fuller Explanation of this, I refer to the *Great Duty of frequenting the Christian Sacrifice*, written by the Author of *The Fasts and Festivals*. As to the εὐλογία, the Invocation of a Blessing, or Consecratory Part, I shall speak to that presently.

[^r *Εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν.*] Here, besides the Thanksgiving or Prayer Eucharistical, we find other Prayers, but what they were *Justin* says not, but no doubt he means the Prayer of Consecration; for when Christ so solemnly took Bread and Wine εὐλογίσας calling upon God for his Blessing, καὶ εὐχαρισέσας and giving Thanks, and commanded this to be done in remembrance of him until his second Coming; it cannot be suppos'd, I say, that he us'd only a common Form of Grace, as at other ordinary Meals, but had a peculiar Form, with relation to those Ends for which he instituted this Holy Feast. Accordingly all the ancient Liturgies, not to mention that of *Basil*, or *Chrysostome*; the *Clementine* Constitutions, elder than both, are very exprefs to this purpose, where having premis'd the Words of Institution, he adds, Ἀξιῶμεν σε, ὁ τῶς

all the ^r People present conclude with an audible Voice, saying, *Amen*; now *Amen* in the Hebrew Tongue, is, *So be it*. The Eucharistical Office being thus perform'd by the Bishop, and concluded with the Acclamation of all the People, those we call ^r Deacons distribute to ev'ry one present to partake of this Eucharistical

ὅπως εὐχαρίσως ἐπεβλέπης ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, σὺ ὁ ἀνεκτίκτος Θεός· καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην μάρτυρα τῆς παθημάτων τῶν κυεῖς Ἰησοῦ ὅπως ἀποθνήῃ τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα τῶ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ αἵματος τῶ Χριστοῦ σου, &c. We beseech thee that thou wouldest graciously be pleas'd to look down upon these Oblations presented before thee, thou God that wantest nothing, and send down thy holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, commemorative of the Sufferings of our Lord Jesus, that this Bread may be unto us the Body of thy Christ, and this Cup the Blood of thy Christ. Agreeable to this Primitive Form of Invocation is that in the Scotch, and English Liturgy in the first Book of Edward VI. where after these Words, *Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee*, it follows, *And with thy holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctifie these thy Creatures and Gifts of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, who in the same Night, &c.*

[Πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ φωνᾷ μέσσω Ἀμὴν.] Here we see that the President alone pronounced the Prayer, and the People ended with the Acclamation of *Amen*; which farther proves it to be the consecrating Prayer, which none but the Minister had Authority to pronounce. For as Dr. Potter observes in his learned Discourse of Church-Government, p. 249. "In the former Prayers the People repeated κοινῇ πάντες (as Justin has it) *all together*, following the Minister, and for a Proof of this refers to the ancient Liturgies, particularly to the Apostolick Constitutions, lib. 8. cap. 6, 8, 9, 11. and elsewhere. And moreover adds, That this Distinction seems to be made in Scripture, where when our Lord consecrates the Eucharist, he alone is said to *bless* or to *give Thanks*; whereas in the Acts, cap. 4. v. 24. when Prayer is made, where in the whole Assembly are equally concern'd, we are told, *They lift up their Voice with one accord*. And this I the rather take notice of, because I generally find the common People ignorantly joyning not only in the Consecration, but in the Absolution also, both which are peculiarly appropriated to the Priestly Office.

[The Deacons distribute to ev'ry one present, and then carry it to the Absent.] The Custom of turning their Backs upon the Lord's Supper

ristical Bread and Wine, and Water, and then they carry it to the Absent.

LXXXVI. This Food we call the^v Eucharist, of which none are allow'd to be Partakers, but such only as are true Believers, and have been baptiz'd in the Laver of Regeneration for the Remission of Sins, and live according to Christ's Precepts; for we do not take this as^w common Bread,

was not known among the Faithful in time of old; and those who came to the Sermon, and went out before the Communion, were excommunicated: *Laici fideles Ecclesiam ingredientiſ & Scripturas audientes, ſi non permaneant in Precatione, & Sacra Communione, e-gregantur*, Can. Apoſt. 9. In the Primitive Church ſo much Bread and Wine was taken from a large Table as the Officiating Prieſt judg'd ſufficient for the Communicants. Theſe Elements, thus ſeparated from the reſt were conſecrated, and what remain'd after the Communion, was carry'd by the Deacon to the Sick, and ſent about to abſent Friends, as Pledges and Tokens of Love and Agreement in the Unity of the ſame Faith. But becauſe this carrying the ſacramental Elements up and down the World was thought not ſo well to comport with the Reverence due to this ſacred Ordinance, it was aboliſh'd by the *Laodicean Synod*; and the *Eulogia*, or pieces of Bread which remain'd of the Offerings of the People, were appointed at *Eaſter* to be ſent up and down in their room. *Can. 14.* One thing more is too obvious not to be noted in this Place, namely, That the Bread and Wine, the Communion in both kinds, was given to the Laiety, a Practice ſo notorious, that even the Patrons of dry Communion have not the Face to deny it.

[*This Food we call the Eucharist, of which none are allow'd to partake but true Believers.*] It was called the Eucharist, becauſe Thankſgiving was made to God for theſe Benefits, and not from any Words conſtituting Conſecration, as is commonly ſuppoſ'd. Here likewiſe is another Inſtance of *Imperii in Imperio*, of Church-Authority independent on the Civil Magiſtrate, and viſible in a State of Perſecution; which Authority therefore, as it muſt always enjoy, ſo the Exerciſe of it moſt eſpecially appear when it is reſolved into ſuch a State again; an Authority of letting in and ſhutting out of Chriſtian Communion, according as the ſpiritual Governours judge of the Merits or Demerits of the reſpective Perſons.

[*We do not take this as common Bread and Wine, &c.*] Juſtin Martyr juſt before had call'd the Eucharistical Food after Conſecration,

Bread, and common Wine. But as Jesus Christ our Saviour was made Flesh by the *Logos* of God, and had real Flesh and Blood for our Salvation, so are we taught that this Food, which the

cration, barely Bread and Wine, and here he says it is not common Bread and Wine, which shews that he thought it was still so in Substance; and then he goes on to illustrate the Sanctification of the Elements by the Incarnation of Christ, in which the Humane Nature did not lose its Substance by its Union with the Divine, so the Bread and Wine according to this Illustration do not lose their proper Substance when they become the Flesh and Blood of Christ. It must be acknowledg'd, that the Ancient Fathers, *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenæus* in particular, do teach, that in the Eucharist the Bread and Wine are by or upon Consecration made the Body and Blood of Christ, but then they explain themselves in such a manner as makes not the least for the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; their Notion in short was this, that as *John the Baptist* was said to be *Elias* because he was endu'd with the same Spirit and Power that *Elias* was, so upon the Sacerdotal Benediction the Spirit of Christ or a Divine Virtue descends upon the Elements, and accompanies them to all worthy Communicants, and therefore are said to be the Body and Blood of Christ; the same Divinity which is hypostatically united to the Body and Blood of Christ in Heaven, being virtually united to the Elements of Bread and Wine upon Earth: and this I have already prov'd to be the Sense of all the ancient Liturgies, wherein it is prayed, *That God would send down his Holy Spirit upon his Creatures of Bread and Wine in the Eucharist*. But that Transubstantiation was a thing never dream'd of, is evident from this very Passage of *Justin*, where he says ἐξ ἡς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες καὶ μεταβολῇ τρέφον ἡμᾶς, that our Bodies are nourish'd, and that the Bread and Wine are turn'd into the Substance of our Bodies; which to affirm of the glorified Body of Christ, is certainly impious Blasphemy. Moreover, our *Justin* in his most excellent Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew, tells him, that it was foretold by the Prophets, that the time was coming when they shou'd no longer offer upon the Altar Libations and Sacrifices of Blood, ἀλλὰ ἀληθινὰ καὶ πνευματικὰ αἶνες καὶ εὐχαριστίας, but true and spiritual Praises and Thanksgiving, p 346. And he says likewise that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament was εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ σώματος ποιήσας, — καὶ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ αἵματος, in Commemoration of his Body and Blood; and that it was generally styl'd by the Ancients ἀναιμάκιον θυσία, an unbloody Sacrifice, is too notorious to be deny'd; and if so, 'tis not possible they shou'd conceive

the very same ^x *Logos* bless'd by Prayer and Thanksgiving, is turn'd into the Nourishment and Substance of our Flesh and Blood; and is in some ^y *Sense* the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus. For the Apostles, in their ^z Commentaries called the Gospels, have left this Command upon Record, *That Jesus took Bread, and when he had given Thanks, he said,*

Matth. 26.

26.

Mar. 14.22.

Luke 22.

19, &c.

it to be the very Body and Blood of Christ. He that desires to see more upon this Subject may consult Dr. Grabe's Notes upon the Place, and Bishop Bull's Answer to the Bishop of Meaux's Letter to Mr. Nelson.

* Τὴν δὲ εὐχῆς λόγος τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν εὐχαριστησάντων τρώειν.] This Passage is something dark and difficult. Hamon l'Estrange translates it thus, *Those Viands by which our Flesh and Blood are nourish'd being blessed by the Prayer and Thanksgiving of the Priest, &c.* But this cannot be the literal Translation, for here is not one Word of a Priest mention'd, nor a title of the main Difficulty explain'd, which is, the δὲ εὐχῆς λόγος τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν. Dr. Grabe thinks τὴν λόγος εὐχλὴ signifies the Lord's Prayer with which the Sacrament was always concluded. Vid. note p. 127. But the Bread and Wine was not consecrated by the Lord's Prayer, and these Words seem to respect the very Act of Consecration. Justin immediately before had said, that Jesus Christ or the *Logos* was made Flesh by the *Logos* of God, and here he says that the Bread and Wine was made the Body and Blood of Christ by the Prayer of the very same *Logos* where the λόγος τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν, seems to me to be the λόγος προφορικὸς or the external Word issuing from the substantial Word or *Logos* himself, and then the Construction will be thus, δὲ εὐχῆς λόγος τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν λόγος ὑποστάτως. And this way of speaking is very familiar with Justin, as you may see by Christ's being said to have been made Flesh by the *Logos* in the Words just before.

† Ἰσοὺ καὶ σάκεα καὶ αἶμα ἐξιδάκνυντο.] Dr Grabe upon these words observes that the Right Reverend the Bishop of Sarum, says, *that it is not to be deny'd, but that very early both Justin Martyr and Irenaeus thought, that there was such a Sanctification of the Elements, that there was a Divine Virtue in them.* Artic. 28. p. 334.

‡ The Commentaries of the Apostles called Gospels.] Ἀπομνημονεύματα, or Commentaries, were such Sayings of wise Men as were got by heart and committed to Memory, and the Gospels being a Summary of the Words and Actions of our Saviour so committed and repeated to the *Ammunenses*, were called ἀπομνημονεύματα. Vid. Dr. Grabe. n. 58.

Do this in Commemoration of me, for this is my Body: And in like manner he took the Cup, and when he had given Thanks, he said, This is my Blood, and delivered it to them only. And this very Solemnity too the evil Spirits have introduc'd in the Mysteries of ^a *Mithra*; for you do, or may know, that when any one is initiated into this Religion, Bread and a Cup of Water, with a certain Form of Words are made use of in the Sacrifice. After this Sacrament is over, we remind each other of the Obligations to his Duty, and the Rich relieve the Poor; and upon such charitable Accounts we visit some or other ev'ry Day.

LXXXVII. ^b And in ev'ry Eucharistical Sacrifice we bless the Maker of all things, thro' his Son Jesus Christ, and thro' the Holy Spirit: And upon the Day called ^c Sunday, all that live

^a For a fuller Explanation of the Mysteries of *Mithra*, or the Sun, I refer the Reader not only to the References in Dr. *Grabe's* Notes, but also to Dr. *Hicks's* *Christian Priesthood Asserted*, where he will find that the Ministers of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist were *τελεσται*, as *Pollux* calls Priests, even as proper Priests, as the Priests of *Mithra* or the Sun, were esteemed by his Worshipers to be. P. 55.

^b Hitherto *Justin* has described the Rites of the first Communion after Baptism, he proceeds now in short to shew that they observ'd the same Order in every Eucharistical Sacrifice, and therefore the same Notes will in a great measure serve for both.

^c Τὴν ² ἡλίου λεγουμένην ἡμέραν, upon the Day called Sunday.] It was called Sunday by *Justin* and *Tertullian*, because it happen'd upon that day of the Week which by the Heathens was dedicated to the Sun, and therefore as being best known to them by that Name, the Fathers commonly made use of it in their Apologies to the Heathen Emperours; but the more proper and prevailing Name was *κυριακή*, or the Lord's Day, as it is called by *St. John* himself, Rev. 1. 10. This Day was so strictly set apart by the Ancients for Publick Devotion, that the Synod of *Illiberis* ordain'd, that if
any

live either in City or Country meet together at the same Place, where the^d Writings of the Apostles and Prophets are read, as much as time will give leave; when the Reader has done, the^e Bishop makes a Sermon, wherein he instructs the People, and animates

any Man dwelling in a City, (where Churches were near at hand) shou'd for three Lord's Days keep from Church, he shou'd for some time be suspended the Communion, *Can. 21. p. 28.* And when *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia*, began to sling off the Discipline of the Church, and to introduce some odd Whimsies of his own, and among many others to fast on the Lord's-day, and to keep Meetings in private Houses; leading many away captive, but especially silly Women, as *Sozomen* observes, *lib. 3. c. 14. p. 521.* The Bishops no sooner understood it, but meeting in Council at *Gangra*, about the Year 340, condemn'd and cast them out of the Church, passing these two Canons among the rest,—*If anyone shall teach that the House of God is to be despis'd, and the Assemblies that are held in it, let him be accursed. If any shall take upon him out of the Church to preach privately at home, and making light of the Church, shall do those things that belong only to the Church, without the Presence of the Priest, and the Leave and Allowance of the Bishop, let him be accursed. Conc. Gangr. Can. 4, 5.*

^d The Commentaries of the Apostles, and the Writings of the Prophets are read, as much as time will give leave.] The Christian Meetings were often disturbed and broken up by their Heathen Enemies; and so neither *Justin* nor *Tertullian* say what Portions either of the Old or New Testament were read at one Meeting; but afterwards set Portions out of each were assign'd, two Lessons out of both, as we find it in the Author of the Apostolical Constitutions, *lib. 2. c. 57. p. 875.*

^e The Bishop makes a Sermon.] The Sermons in these Times were nothing else but Expositions of some part of the Scriptures then read, and Exhortations to the People to obey the Doctrines contained in them, and generally upon the Lesson last read, as being freshest in their Minds. According as Opportunity serv'd, these Sermons were more or fewer, sometimes two or three at the same Assembly, the Presbyters first, and then the Bishop, as is expressly affirm'd in the Apostolical Constitutions. *Καὶ ἐξῆς ἀρχαλείτωσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ λαὸν ὁ καθὼς αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἅπαντες, καὶ τελεῖται τὸ πᾶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὅς ἐοικε κυβερεῖν.* *Lib. II. cap. 57. p. 263. Edit. Cleric.* Then (that is after the reading of the Gospel) let the Presbyters exhort the People one by one, not all at once; and last of all the Bishop, as it is fitting for the Master to do.

them

them to the Practice of such lovely Precepts; at the Conclusion of this Discourse, we all^f rise up together and pray; and Prayers being over, as I now said, there is Bread, and Wine, and Water offered, and the Bishop, as before, sends up Prayers and Thanksgivings, with^g all the Fervency he is able, and the People conclude

^f We all rise up together and pray.] From this Place of *Justin*, and from *Tertullian*, de Coron. c. 3. p. 102. 'tis evident, that whereas the Christians upon other Days prayed kneeling, yet upon Sundays they always prayed standing; and the Reason of this we find in the Author of the Questions and Answers in *Justin Martyr*, Resp. ad Quest. 115. p. 468. It is (says he) that by this Posture we may be put in Mind both of our Fall by Sin, and our Restitution by the Grace of Christ; that for six Days we pray upon our Knees, is to remind us of our Fall by Sin; but that on the Lord's Day we pray standing, is to represent our Restitution, by which, through the Grace of Christ, we are deliver'd from our Sins and the Powers of Death. And the great Council of *Nice* taking notice that this Custom began to be neglected, ordain'd, That on the Lord's Day Men should stand, when they offer'd up their Prayers to God. *Can. 20.*

^g Ευχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ συχαριστίας ὅσην δυνάμεις ἀντὶς ἀναπέμψῃ, The Bishop sends up Prayers and Thanksgivings with all the Fervency he is able.] This Passage is greedily fasten'd upon by many of our Dissenting Brethren against stated Forms of Prayer in the Primitive Church, and particularly by Mr. *Dav. Clarkson* in his Discourse concerning Liturgies, and is cited twice over, p. 68. and p. 115. where he marvelously pleases himself, with very little reason, for near ten Pages in Quotations, to make this speak for *inventing Words as the Spirit enabled them, or praying ex tempore*. I cannot but observe from hence how much these old Fathers are made of by some Men, if they can but be forc'd to cast a kind look towards them; and then again by Fits, how musty and despicable they are, when they speak too plain to be misinterpreted. But to the Case in Hand: First then, I say that ὅσην δυνάμεις is a doubtful Expression, and twice before in this Apology (as I have advertis'd the Reader) is us'd in a Sense quite different from this of Mr. *Clarkson*, and therefore at best can be but a doubtful Proof, till he can make out his Sense to be the plain and only Sense of this Phrase. Secondly, If this be the Sense, it will not follow that because in *Justin's* Age, an Age of casting out Devils, and praying by the Spirit in order to profelyte the World, there-
fore

clude all with the joyful Acclamation of *Amen*: Then the consecrated Elements are distributed to, and partaken of by, all that are present, and sent to the Absent by the Hands of the Deacons.

LXXXVIII. But the Wealthy and the Willing, for every one is at Liberty, contribute as they think fitting; and this Collection is deposited with the Bishop, and out of this he relieves the Orphan and the Widow, and such as are reduc'd to want, by Sickness or any other

fore now, when the World is profelyted, and the Gift of Power and Miracles is over, ev'ry private Minister is enabled to pray by the same Spirit. But then, Thirdly, I think it must signifie otherwise in this very Place, for ὅση δύναμις here plainly answers to ἐνθουσιασμός, *Señ. 85*, where all the Congregation is said to joyn in *Common Prayers* for the new-baptized Person, *Iyc. ἐνθουσιασμός* with all *Intention of Mind and Affections*; and by *Common Prayers* we can hardly understand any thing else than set Forms of Prayer, in Opposition to *ex tempore* Effusions. Besides, 'tis observable that this Phrase does not follow (ἐυχὰς) Prayers, but (ἐυχαιεσίας) Thanksgivings; so that it is chiefly to be restrain'd to the Hymns in the Eucharist, which were known Forms; and yet, says *Justin*, they were offer'd up, ὅση δύναμις. And Section the 16th. where we have this Phrase ἐπ' οἷς ἀναπαυόμεθα πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις αἰνεῖται, *in all our Oblations praising God to the best of our Power*, he deals very disingenuously by leaving out the Comma between πᾶσιν and ὅση. Now this praising ὅση δύναμις cannot be apply'd to the Bishop only, but to all the Congregation who joyn'd in the publick Hymns, with all possible Fervency and Devotion. But of all the Quotations this Author has brought to wrest this Phrase to his purpose of *ex tempore* Prayer, that out of *Gregory Nazianzen* is the most unhappy one, Φέρε ὅση δύναμις τὸ ἐμπνεῶν ἀδελφοὶ ἐκείνῳ ᾠδῶν, &c. *Come, let us with all Intention of Spirit chant that triumphant Ode which sometime the Israelites sang upon the overthrow of the Egyptians in the red Sea*. *Nazianzen* here sets down the Words which he would have them sing upon *Julian's* being cut off, and ὅση δύναμις being precisely limited to ἐκείνῳ ᾠδῶν that Song in *Exodus* the 15th; this, I say, utterly shuts out all arbitrary Conceptions, and determines the Signification of this Phrase, as I think, beyond Exception.

Cause;

Cause, and such as are in Bonds, and Strangers that come from far; and in a Word, he is the Guardian and Almoner to all the Indigent.

LXXXIX. Upon Sunday we all assemble, that being the first Day in which God set himself to work upon the dark Void, in order to make the World, and in which Jesus Christ our Saviour rose again from the Dead; for the Day before^h Saturday He was crucify'd, and the Day after, which is Sunday, He appear'd to His Apostles and Disciples, and taught 'em what I have now propos'd to your Consideration.

XC. And so far as these things shall appear agreeable to Truth and Reason, so far we desire you wou'd respect 'em accordingly, but if they seem trifling, despise 'em as Trifles; however, don't proceed against the Professors of 'em, who are People of the most inoffensive Lives, as severely as against your profess'd Enemies; for, tell you I must, that if you persist in this Course of Iniquity, you shall not escape the Vengeance of God in the other World. But be this as it will, you shall hear us contentedly cry out, *God's Will be done*. And altho' we might produce the Rescript of your Father, the great and illustrious Emperor *Adrian*, to plead in our behalf for the moderating your

^h *The Day before Saturday.*] *Justin* uses this Circumlocution instead of *Die Veneris*, because he abhorred the very Name of *Venus*, and the Fathers were so chaste in Word as well as Thought, that they would not take the Name of *Venus* within their Lips, but in order to refute the Heathen Idolatry. See Dr. *Grabe's* Notes upon this Place.

Proceedings according to that Rule of Equity we our selves have propos'd, yet we shall not insist so much upon the Authority of *Adrian* as the Justice of our Demands, which was the Reason of composing this Apology and Exposition of the Christian Faith: However, we have subjoyn'd a Copy of *Adrian's* Epistle, to let you see the Truth and Justice of our Cause; and the Copy is This :

The ^a RESCRIPT of ADRIAN for the
Christians to MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

I Receiv'd a Letter from the illustrious *Serenus Granianus*, your Predecessor: 'Tis an ^b Affair well worthy your Consideration, to put a stop to vexatious Suits, and to give no handle

^a The Apologies of *Aristides*, but especially that of *Quadratus*, had so good an Effect upon the Emperor *Adrian*, that they procur'd this Rescript in Favour of the Christians; for *Serenus Granianus* wrote to *Adrian*, as *Pliny* before had done to *Trajan*, concerning the intolerable and unjust Persecutions of the Christian Sect, and being either dead just after, or out of his Office, (which was but Annual) *Adrian* directs this Answer to *Minutius Fundanus*, his Successor into the Proconsulship of *Asia*. This Rescript was annex'd by *Justin* to this Apology in the Latin Tongue, and translated by *Eusebius* into Greek, as he himself tells us, *lib. 4. c. 8. Hist. Eccles.* And by the way, if *St. Justin* may be allow'd Latin enough to understand this Epistle, methinks 'tis hard not to allow him enough to understand the Inscription upon the Statue of *Simon Magus*. The Latin Text preserv'd by that Martyr is lost; however, 'tis famous, and much talk'd of by the Ancients; 'tis cited by *St. Melito*, *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26.* by *Sulpicius Severus*, *lib. 2. c. 45.* and by *Orosius*, *lib. 7. c. 12.*

^b The Subject of *Granianus's* Letter seems evidently omitted in this Place, and the Emperor's Order only mention'd. And if *Lamprius*

Handle to Informers to carry on the Trade of Malice. If then the People under your Government have any thing to say against Christians, and will prove it in Publick, so that Christians may answer for themselves in open Court, 'tis your Duty to hear 'em in a judicial way only, and not to be over-born by the Petitions and tumultuary Clamours of the People; for 'tis your Place, and *not the Mob's*, to judge of the Merits of the Cause: If therefore, the Informer shall make it appear, that Christians have done any thing contrary to Law, punish 'em according to the Quality of the Crime; so verily on the other Hand, if you find it to be a malicious Charge only, take Care to condemn and punish, as the Malice deserves.

The **LETTER** *of* ANTONINUS *to*
the States of ASIA.

THE Emperor *Cesar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius*, Chief Pontiff, the fifteenth time Tribune, thrice Consul, Father

pridius may be credited, as I see no Reason why he may not, for any thing *Casaubon* has urg'd to the contrary, *Adrian* had a Design, as *Tiberius* had before him, to set up the Worship of Christ, and built up therefore several Temples without any Image, and without consecrating them to any God of the Heathen, which therefore went by the Name of *Adrian's Temples*. *Lamprid. Alex. v. p. 129. Vid. Memoires, &c. par le Sieur D. Tillamont, tom. 2. p. 123.*

We are told by an ancient Ecclesiastick Writer, that this Apology of our Martyr very much sweeten'd the Spirit of *Antoninus*. *Oros. lib. 7. cap. 14.* And being also seconded by Addresses, and hi-
K deous

ther of the Country, to the common Assembly of *Asia*, *Greeting*. I am of Opinion that the Gods will be sufficiently careful not to let this sort of Men escape, for 'tis much more their

deous Complaints from the Faithful in *Asia*, produc'd this Letter from the Emperor to the States of *Asia*; and to those of *Larissa*, *Thessalonica*, *Athens*, and all *Greece*. He sent Letters also in behalf of the Christians, tho' this alone to the States of *Asia* is yet extant. *Vid. Euseb. lib. 4. c. 26.* It is an Answer to what the States had sent concerning the Prosecution of Christians upon the Account of Earthquakes, which had then happen'd and were charg'd upon the Christians, as all Misfortunes were. I am not ignorant that *Scaliger*, *Valesius*, and others would have this Imperial Edict to be the Decree of *Marcus Aurelius* the Son of *Antoninus*; the Inscription indeed as it stands in *Eusebius*, *lib. 4. c. 26.* has *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*; but then this is most undeniably corrupted; for just before in the Conclusion of the 25th Chapter, he ascribes it to *Antoninus Pius*; and in the original Inscription annex'd to the Apology (and from whence *Eusebius* transcrib'd his) it is *Titus Aelius Antoninus Pius*. Besides, the Tenor of the Epistle it self seems plainly to give it to *Antoninus*; and *Melito* Bishop of *Sardin*, who presented an Apology to his Son and Successor, tells him of the Letters which his Father at the time he was his Partner in the Empire wrote to the Cities, that they should not raise any new Troubles against the Christians. *Vid. Dr. Cave's Life of Justin in English, p. 147.* The Objections against this Opinion you may find in *Dr. Grabe's Notes*, and in the Notes at the end of his Edition.

This Letter was sent, says *Monsieur Tillemont*, in the 15th Year of *Antoninus*, that is, in the Year of our Lord 152. *Vid. Mem. Tom. 2. p. 390.* says *Dr. Cave* in the Year 140; and if it be objected that this seems not consistent with the Year of his being Tribune, said here to be the 15th; he answers, that the Tribunitian Power did not always commence with the beginning of their Reign, but was given sometimes to Persons in a private Capacity, and especially to such as were Candidates for the Empire. *Vid. Life of Justin, p. 146.* *Valesius* fixes the Date of the Rescript in the first Year of *Marcus Aurelius*, for which he is animadverted upon by Bishop *Pearson*, who refers it to the 15th of *Aurelius*. *Vind. Ig. Epif. p. 2. n. 404.* See *Dr. Grabe's Notes*. In this State of Uncertainty I shall leave this Rescript, with this Observation only, That we ought not to conclude against the Being of a thing, because learned Men dispute the time of its Being, but just the contrary, *viz.* That such a thing really was, because there is so much Dispute about it.

Concern

Concern, than yours, to make those the Examples of Justice, if they can, who refuse to worship them; and while you thus harraß them, and accuse them for Atheists, and object other things against them, and are not able to make good the Charge, you do but harden them in their Opinion; for it makes mightily for 'em, *or you cannot oblige them more*, than to make 'em die for the Religion they are accus'd of; for thus they triumph over you, by choosing rather to submit to Death, than to comply with your Demands. As for Earth-quakes, either past or present, I advise you to be silent upon this Head; you who are desponding immediately upon these Occasions, and laying all your Calamities upon them, whereas they are more erect and confident in God upon such Accidents: But you all this time seem to be perfect Strangers to the Gods, and to neglect their Worship, nay, the Worship of the great God himself, and therefore mortally hate those who do worship him, and persecute 'em to death for so doing. Concerning this sort of Men, several Governors of Provinces have formerly written to my Father of sacred Memory; to whom he returned this Answer, That such Men should not be molested, unless they were found to attempt any thing against the *Roman* Government. And I my self have receiv'd many Letters upon the same Subject, and I return'd the same Answer. So that if any one hereafter shall go on to inform against this sort of Men, purely because they are Christians, let the Persons accus'd be discharg'd,

altho' they be found to be Christians, and let the Informer himself undergoe the Punishment.

The ^a *EPISTLE* of MARCUS the Emperor to the Senate, wherein he testifies the Victory of the Romans to be owing to the Christians.

THE Emperor *Cesar M. Aurelius Antoninus*, *Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus*, To the People of Rome, and the sacred Senate, Greeting. I acquainted you with the great Designs I had in Hand, and the Extremities I have been reduc'd to upon the Confines of Germany, from an Enemy inclosing me on every side; for I was shut up in *Colinus* by seventy four Cohorts, for the space of nine Miles: When the Enemy was hard by, the Scouts gave me Intelligence, and *Pompeianus*, who had the Command of our Forces, signify'd the same likewise, namely, that a mix'd

^a Concerning the Genuineness of this Epistle, the Reader may consult the Notes of *Dr. Græle*, and those of *Kortholtus* at the end of his Edition; but supposing with *Joseph Scaliger*, that this was not written in Greek by *Marcus*, nor translated from the true Latin, but patch'd together after the Emperor *Justinian's* time by some wretched Græcian; the Matter is not much, for as to the Occasion and the Contents in general, namely, the miraculous Relief here mention'd, we are assur'd of from an undoubted Authority very near that time, from *Tertullian* himself in his Apology, c. 5. See likewise *Orosius*, in l. 7. Hist. c. 51.

Army of all sorts of People, to the number of nine hundred seventy thousand Men were just upon us; (but I had a good Body of choice light-arm'd Soldiers about me, of the first, tenth, and double Legion) upon this *Alarm* I muster'd my Forces, and comparing 'em with those of the *Barbarians*, my Enemies, I had immediate Recourse to the *Roman* Gods by Prayer, but finding my self neglected by them, and my Army reduc'd to very great Straits, I call'd out those who go by the Name of Christians, and upon the Muster finding their Number considerable, I charg'd our Calamities severely upon them; which certainly I ought not by any means to have done, considering the mighty Advantages I receiv'd from these very Men soon after: For upon this they put themselves in Battle Array, not by sound of Trumpet, and putting their Javelins and Arms in order, because they were accus'd upon the Account of that God they carry'd about 'em in their Minds: (Wherefore 'tis but reasonable that those we suspected for Atheists, we should now conclude to have God, as it were, immur'd in their Minds, performing whatever they desire of Him.) For prostrating themselves upon the Earth, they offer'd up Prayers, not only for Me, but for the whole Army, insomuch that in this Article of Necessity they pray'd down a prodigious Relief, while we were perishing with Hunger and Thirst, having been five Days without Water, for there was none near us, we being then in the Heart of *Germany*, and upon the Frontiers

of the Enemy. But no sooner had they fell to the Earth, and pray'd to a God I knew nothing of, but immediatly a Shower from Heaven succeeded, a Shower of refreshing Water to us, and of fiery Hail to our Enemies. But moreover, upon their Prayers forthwith there was the Appearance of a God Almighty Invincible. This therefore is my ground for the Toleration of Christians, for fear that by the same powerful Prayers they should fetch down the like Artillery from above against us. My Will and Pleasure therefore is, That no one henceforth be brought to the Bar merely for being a Christian; and if any shall be found to inform against a Christian, purely upon the Score of his Religion, I order that the Christian so inform'd against confess the Charge, and if he be found guilty of nothing but Christianity, that the Informer be burnt alive; and that the Christian upon his Confession be therefore acquitted, and that the Governor of the Province do not force him to retract, nor deprive him of his Liberty. These things I desire should be confirm'd by Decree of Senate. And I order likewise, That this Decree be propos'd and publish'd in *Trajan's Forum* to be read by All, and the Præfect *Verasius Pollio* shall take Care to dispatch it into all the Provinces round about. And I order likewise, That none be prohibited to take out a Copy of this Decree, whoever has a mind so to do.

A
PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE
TO
TERTULLIAN'S
APOLOGETICK
FOR THE
CHRISTIANS.

QUINTUS *Septimius Florens Tertullianus* was the Son of a ^a *Centurion* under the *Proconsul* of *Africk*, born at *Carthage* about the Year 160; of ^b *Heathen* Parentage, and of *Heathen* Education; he had a Head marvellously well turn'd for Science, and his *Extensive Genius* soon led him the Round of human Learning; he had div'd into the Secrets of Geometry and Physick, and study'd the Poets and Philosophers thro' and thro'; he was a great Master of History, and above all, as ^c *Eusebius* tells us, and as from the *Apology* is evident, profoundly vers'd in the

^a Ap. cap. 9.
cap. 2.

^b Ap. c. 18.

^c Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2.

Roman Laws. He was naturally exceeding Hot and Impatient, a temper he very much laments in his ^d *Boook of Patience*; to this natural Stock of Fire, and the joint Force of Letters, was added a surprizing Vivacity of Wit, edged with a Keeness peculiar to himself, so that he cou'd drive an Argument as far by dint of Reason, and clinch it as severely by dint of Wit, as most Men living; for in the *Psalmist's* Phrase, *His Teeth were Spears and Arrows; and his Tongue a sharp Sword*; which by his own Confession, in his merry Fits, he had often drawn against the True God, and shot his most bitter Words against the Christian Religion: And as the *greatest Wits* are not always the *strictest Livers*, so had he copy'd but too closely after the Gods he worship'd, for he acknowledges himself not only an ^e Adulterer, but one who had taken a cruel Pleasure in the bloody Entertainments of the ^f *Amphitheater*, one who had arriv'd to a distinguishing ^h *Eminency in Vice*, and was an *Accomplish'd Sinner in all* ⁱ *Respects*. In a word, no Man seems deeper learn'd in the *Mystery of Iniquity*, in the Rise and Progress of Superstition, and in the creditable Abominations of the Age, than our *Tertulian* in his *Gentile State*; and as a Person of such Ability and standing in Vice, was not likely to surrender upon easie Terms, and become a Convert to a most holy and suffering Religion, without the clearest and strongest Conviction, so after his Conversion was no Man better appointed to Reason and Ridicule the Heathen Gods, and the Heathen Immoralities quite out of the World:

Concerning the prime Motives and Manner of his *Conversion*, we have nothing exprefs, either from himself, or the Ancients; but as we naturally feel

^d Lib. de Pat. at the beginning.

^e Ap. 18. *Hæc & nos vivimus aliquando; de vestris fuimus.*

^f Rel. cap. 59. p. 427. ^g Spect. c. 19. p. 99.

^h De Porait. p. 132. *Præstantium in delictis meam agnosco.*

ⁱ De Porait. p. 138. *Peccator omnium notoriorum.*

our selves most apt to dilate and dwell upon such Motives, as most inwardly affect us; so what we find this *Convert* most warmly and emphatically urging in the Defence of Christianity, we may reasonably conjecture to have had the mightiest Operation on himself. We see then this Author most triumphant-ly insisting upon the Antiquity of the *Mosaick* Writings, with the mighty Works and Wisdom of that *Law-giver*; upon the successive *Links* of Prophecy, which make up one long *Chain* of continued Wonders, that will conduct an inquisitive Spirit directly to Christ, with an Evidence as Illustrious, as that of the *Star which went before the Wise Men, till it came and stood over, where the young Child was*. We find him, likewise, full and overflowing upon the external Evidence taken from the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles, and from the Intrinsick Goodness, and amazing Influence of this new Philosophy upon the Lives of its Professors; and no less sensibly affected with the Powers of ev'ry Christian over *evil Spirits*: And in truth, to see the very *Possessors* themselves *possess'd* with Fear and Trembling, To hear the very Devils they worship'd for Gods, turn Preachers of Christ, and cry, and howl, and confess themselves Devils in the Presence of their ^k *Votaries*, was a Proof against 'em with a Witness, and as convincing, as Common in the Age of this Writer. These, I say, are some of the most frequent and shining Arguments he presses against his Adversaries, and such therefore, as we may well conclude, had the greatest Stroke in the Conversion of himself.

Concerning the *Date* of this Apology, and the *Persons* to whom it was dedicated, the Learned are at Variance; and I am not fond of interposing in a *critical* Dispute of so little consequence; but upon examination, that which to me seems most probable, is, that it was written about the Year of *J. C.* 200. for

^k Ap. cap. 19, 20, 23. and almost every where.

at this time the Christians at *Rome* were severely treated by *Plautianus* the Prefect of the City, and in *Africk* by *Saturninus* the *Proconsul*: Thus much is certain from the ¹ *Apologetick* it self, that it was not written till after the Defeat of *Niger* and *Albinus*, and whilest the Emperor *Severus* was in hot pursuit of the Rebels; but *Albinus* was not defeated till *February* 19. 197. *Vit. Sev.* 21. after which the Emperour went into the *East*, in quest of *Niger* and his Adherents; *Vit. Sev.* 26. In answer to this, 'tis ² objected, That these Factions of *Niger* and *Albinus* are both mention'd by *Tertullian* in his Book *ad Scapulam*, written after the Apology; but then the *Objector* does not take notice that 'tis said here, *whilest they were at that time in fresh pursuit of the Rebels*, which is not said in the Book *ad Scapulam*, and which is the most material Point; nor does the *Objector* call to mind, that the Church enjoy'd a profound Quiet in the Year 217. which is the time wherein he fixes the Date of the *Apologetick*. The learned Mr. ³ *Dodwel* was once of the same Opinion with this *Author*, and to support it, interpos'd a Persecution between *Severus* and *Maximin*, without giving any Reason for so doing. Tho' ⁴ since, he has chang'd his Mind, and dates this Apology from the Year 203, after the Death of *Plautianus*, applying to him (tho' not mention'd, the *Racematio superstes* & *qui armati Palatium irrumpunt*, which is with much better Reason applicable to the Death of *Pertinax*: But certain it is, that *Severus* issued out no *Edicts* against the Christians till the Year 202; and it is as certain from *Tertullian's* own words, that at the writing of this Apology there were no such *Edicts*. His words are as follow, *Of all your Emperors down to this present*

¹ Ap. c. 35. *Sed & qui nunc scelestorum partium Socii aut Plaufores quotidie revelantur, post vindemiam Parricidarum racematio superstes.*

² *Dalix*, *Tertul. vit. c. 9. p. 78.* ³ *Cyp. dis. II. c. 51. p. 282.*

⁴ *Pearse, dis. p. 173.*

*Reign, who understood any thing of Religion or Humanity, name me one, who persecuted the Christians, Ap. cap. 5. and Chapter the 4th, he calls Severus the most constant Prince. And he tells us ^p elsewhere, that in the first part of his Reign he was a very indulgent Prince to the Christians: And he was under peculiar Obligations so to be; for one Proculus a Christian had cur'd him of a dangerous Distemper, by anointing him with Oil in the Name of the Lord, according to that of St. James, cap. 5. v. 14. Which Cure left so deep an Impression upon his Mind, that Severus was no sooner Emperour but Proculus was sent for, and kept in Court to his dying Day. And as this Christian was a living Apology for the Christians, and a constant Check upon him against hurting the Disciples of Christ, in whose Name he himself was healed; so I doubt not but that which made him tolerate them the more, was, That he found not one Christian engag'd in the Factions either of Albinus or Niger; a Topick our Apologist triumphs upon more than ^a once; for a *Factions Christian* was a *Monster* not to be met with in the Days of old. But tho' Severus put out no *Edicts* till the Year 202, yet the People were too hot against Christians to stay for *Edicts*, and besides they had an *old Law* on their side, which forbade the introducing of a new God with the Approbation of the Senate, and any thing we know will serve an enraged *Mob* for *Reasons*, as well as *Arms*; and the Persecution which raged in *Africk* about 200, and something sooner at *Rome*, in all the Varieties of Cruelty and in its full strength, saving the Emperor's *Edict*, is that which determines both the Date and the Occasion of this Apology. As to the *Persons* to whom it was dedicated, I refer the Reader to the Notes upon the first Chapter of the following Apology.*

² *Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 71.* ³ *Ap. cap. 35. Ad Scap. c. 2. p. 85.*

Considering the little Difference in point of Time between *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, no wonder if in these two Apologists upon the same Subject, we often meet with the like Reasoning, tho' with a very distinguishing Air according to the different Genius and Complexion of each Writer. For tho' *Commodus* was a *Pagan Prince*, and as bad a Man, as bad could be, yet during his Reign the Church enjoy'd a favourable Season; for the *bloody Ruler* glutted his Cruelty upon his *Pagan Subjects*, and by peculiar Providence the *human Monster* spar'd none but Christians. In this lucid Interval Christianity got Ground, and grew apace; the *little Leaven* had spread thro' the whole Mass of the *Roman Empire*, Army and Senate, Town and Country, were all over-run with Christians: But notwithstanding this Encrease, yet the Kingdom of Darkness was the ruling Kingdom, the *Demons* reign'd still in Worship, and the same *Iniquities were acted by Law*; and therefore he who who reads the Preliminary to *Justin*, need not be told in this, the Particulars of the Apology following.

After *Tertullian* with great Strength of Reason, and Satyr in abundance, has expos'd the *Heathen Gods*, and given a sensible Demonstration from their own Mouths that they were *no Gods*, he proceeds to the Proof of the Christian Religion; and having establish'd the Doctrine of *three Persons and one God*, of the Divinity of *Christ*, the *Two Sacraments*, of *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, an *immediate State of Happiness or Misery after Death*, an *universal Resurrection* to eternal Life in Bliss or Torment, together with their way of Worship and the manner of their Assemblies, he then goes on to remove a prevailing Calumny, which block'd up the Minds of the Heathen, and made it morally impossible for the Christian Faith to get Admission, or to be so much

as Tolerated in the Empire, namely, That it was a Religion destructive to all Civil Government, and that the Professors of it were a Crew of pestilent seditious Fellows, who went to *Meetings* under pretence indeed of *Worship and Conscience*, but in truth to turn the World upside down.

About the beginning of *Trajan's* Reign, according to *Baronius*, tho' *Dr. Cave* in his *Life of St. Clemens* places it later, because that Epistle of *Pliny* upon which the Annalist grounds his Conjecture, was not written in all probability till nine or ten Years after, there was a Law publish'd against the *Heteriæ*, which were Colleges or Halls erected up and down the Roman Empire, where the several Societies or Companies met and feasted, under pretext of better dispatch of Business, and for the keeping up a mutual Inter-course of Love and Friendship, but were suspected by the State as Seminaries of Rebellion; and the Christians being a Society of Note, and confederated under one *common President*, and constantly meeting at their Love-feasts, and being a new Religion which multiply'd exceedingly, and directly opposite to Heathenism, the Christians were proceeded against as other illegal Societies, and as Contemners of the Imperial Constitution. By Virtue of this *Edict*, or one of fresher Date, perhaps upon the Conspiracies of *Niger* and *Albinus*, were the Christians again hunted after now in the time of the Apologist, and their Societies put down, and prosecuted with the Rest, as ill-affected and dangerous to the State.

But to this *Tertullian* answers, and in Words worthy our notice. — “ We “ Christians (says he) “ are a Society from whom nothing Hostile ever “ comes, like the dreadful Issue of other Meetings; “ for we are a People stark cold and dead to all the “ Glories upon Earth, and what Occasion can such a

^s Bar. ad an. 100. n. viii. Tom. 2. ^t Plin. Ep. 97. l. 10.

^u Ap. cap. 38.

“ People have for Caballing and Faction?—— ” We
 “ acknowledge the Emperours to be next to God,
 “ supreme ; above all People, and your Gods too
 “ into the Bargain ; and in all our Prayers and Inter-
 “ cessions with Heaven, we are ever mindful of Em-
 “ perors and Kings wheresoever we live, beseeching
 “ God for every one of them without Distinction,
 “ that he wou’d bless them with Length of Days, a
 “ quiet Reign, a well established Family, a couragi-
 “ ous Army, a faithful Senate, an honest People,
 “ and a Peaceful World, and what ever else either
 “ Prince or People can wish for. —— And again,
 “ Under the most enraging Provocations what one
 “ Evil have you observ’d to have been return’d by
 “ Christians ? Whereas we cou’d in a Nights time
 “ with Links and Torches in our Hands have given
 “ ample Satisfaction to our Revenge, by returning
 “ Evil for Evil, had we not thought it unlawful to
 “ quit one Injury with another : And wou’d we en-
 “ gage you in the Field, do you think we cou’d
 “ want Forces ? —— We are but of yesterday,
 “ and by to Day are grown up and overspread
 “ your Empire ; your Cities, Islands, Forts, Towns,
 “ Assemblies, Camps, Wards, Companies, Palace,
 “ Senate, Forum, all swarm with Christians ; ——
 “ And supposing us unequal in Strength, yet confi-
 “ dering our Usage, what shou’d we not readily at-
 “ tempt for our Rescue ? We whom you see so ready
 “ to meet Death in all its Forms of Cruelty, was it
 “ not agreeable to our Religion to be killed, rather
 “ than to kill. Nay, we cou’d make a terrible War
 “ upon you without Arms or fighting a Stroke, by
 “ being so passively Revengeful as only to leave you ;
 “ for if such a numerous Host of Christians shou’d
 “ but retire from the Empire into some remote Regi-
 “ on of the World, the Loss of so many Subjects of
 “ all Ranks and Degrees wou’d leave an hideous Gap,

“ and shameful Scar upon the Government, and the
 “ very Evacuation wou'd be abundant Revenge; you
 “ wou'd stand aghast at your Desolation, and be
 “ struck dumb at the general Silence and Horror of
 “ Nature, as if the whole World was departed; you
 “ wou'd be at a loss for Men to govern, and in the
 “ pitiful Remains you wou'd find more Enemies than
 “ Citizens, but now you exceed in Friends, because
 “ you exceed in Christians. *Ap. c. 37.*

With what Forehead now cou'd *Cardinal * Bellarmine*, or some others who draw from the same Quiver, tho' not of the *Cardinal's* Religion, with what Colour or Conscience, I say, can they so confidently assert, that the true Reason why the Primitive Christians did not *Depose, Decollate, or Detruncate Nero, Dioclesian, Julian the Apostate*, and such like bloody Tyrants, was not out of any Sense of Duty or Allegiance; not because they would not, but in truth because they cou'd not, they wanted only Power proportionate to their Will; but cou'd such Numbers, as *Tertullian* here mentions, and so prodigal of Life want Power? Cou'd not Revenge arm them with a Link or Torch, or raise up one *Gerard* or *Ravilliac* amongst them? But had the First Fathers so learn'd Christ, and preach'd up the *Deposing* and *King-killing* Doctrine, it had been as impossible for them to have preach'd Princes into Christianity, as to have preach'd them into their own Ruin. Had but these Fathers been something more *Moderate* upon the Character of Princes, and less sparing upon *Liberty, Property*, and the *natural Rights* of the People; had they but talk'd of *Protection and Allegiance as Duties Reciprocal*, and found out the Art of *softning hard Texts*, and extracting Rebellion out of *St. Paul's* Command *to be subject not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake*, according to the Chymistry of our modern Refiners, what rare Fathers had these been

* Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 5. c. 7. col. 891.

then? How Orthodox and Apostolical, how Genuine their Writings, and their Authority venerable? But now alas! They are only a Parcel of old doting passive Blockheads, who were in haste to be gone to Heaven before their Time, and therefore took an awkward Pride in suffering, and fooling away their Lives; they neither felt, nor argu'd, as if they had common Sense or Reason; they understood not the Doctrine of Self-preservation, and how natural it is to prefer ones own Life before that of the Magistrate. They concluded with the odd Statesman *Marcellus* in *Tacitus*, *That Subjects may wish for good Princes, but ought to bear with any*; so they did in good truth, they thought a wise and vertuous Prince the greatest publick Blessing upon Earth, but they never thought their Obedience founded upon his Wisdom and Virtue, but upon his Character, as he was the Minister and Vicegerent of God; they knew it to be a distinguishing Article of the Christian Profession *to endure Grief, suffering wrongfully, for hereunto they were called, because Christ so suffer'd, leaving them an Example, that they shou'd follow his Steps*; and how they cou'd suffer for Conscience towards God, if God had not oblig'd them to such Sufferings, they cou'd not tell; they knew that the Gospel was to enter, not like an armed Man, but like Rain into a Fleece of Wooll, that they were to give no Offence, not so much as to any private Jew or Gentile, much less to lay such a stumbling Block in the way of Princes, as that of absolving Subjects from their Allegiance; for had the Gospel been at variance with the Civil Power, and the Preachers of it interpos'd in Affairs of State, what a Cry wou'd this have rais'd against 'em, as Enemies to *Cæsar*? This wou'd have look'd indeed, as if *King Jesus* had set up his Claim to the *Kingdom of this World*, and that *Dominion was founded in Grace*, and that the *Saints only were to inherit*

the Earth, and how this wou'd have arm'd the unbelieving World against the Gospel, and its Professors, I need not say.

Obedience therefore to Civil Powers, being so necessary a Doctrine to be preach'd and practis'd in Perfection by the First Professors, before Christianity wou'd ever be list'ned to by Princes, the great Founder and Finisher of our Faith Christ Jesus began the Example in himself, he calls for a Piece of Money, and seeing the Superscription to be *Cesar's*, without any farther enquiry he orders that the *Things that are Cesars be render'd unto Cesar*, and pays Tribute at the expence of a Miracle; his Apostles inculcate the Duty of Obedience and Non-resistance to the worst of Princes under pain of Damnation, their immediate Successors tread closely in the same Steps; and 'tis the grand Subject; 'tis that Christian Vein which in a peculiar Manner runs thro', and enriches this whole Apology.

Of all the Writers of the *Latin Church*, now extant, *Tertullian* is the oldest; and of all his Writings this Apologetic is the Flower; one of the most important and celebrated Pieces of Antiquity, which in the Judgment of St.^r *Jerom* takes in all the Treasures of human Learning; and wherein the Apologist, according to * *Lactantius*, has fully pleaded the Christian Cause, and said all that can be well said against the Idolatry of the *Gentiles*, and *Vicentius Lirinensis*, who is far from shading the Blemishes of this great Man, does him the Justice to acknowledge him the smartest, strongest, and most irresistible Writer of the Age; such a *Genius* among the *Latins*, as *Origen* was among the *Greeks*: The Character indeed is moving, just and fine, and not to be omitted

* Epist. ad Mag. Orat. p. 328.

* Lact. de Just. lib. 5. p. 243. Cambr. edit. *Quonquam Tertullianus eandem causam plene peroraverit, in eo libro cui Apologetico nomen est,*

in this place, was not the Author himself annex'd to these Apologies, whither I refer the Reader. But tho' *Lactantius* confesses him a Master in the Commonwealth of Learning, yet withal he censures him, as an uncouth, rugged, and very dark Writer, *in eloquendo parum facilis, & minus comptus, & multum obscurus fuit*, de just. lib. 5. p. 237. *Cambr. ed.* And I dare promise, that whoever reads him, will find this of *Lactantius* to be true to his Cost. However, an *African*, and one too, who by mostly conversing with *Greek* Writers had the Idioms and Particles of that Language sticking to him, is very pardonable, if he does not express himself with all the Ease and Graces of a Native of *Rome*. But tho' his meaning is not easily understood, yet he that breaks the Shell, will not repent his Pains for the Kernel; for his Wit perpetually sparkles with noble Sense, it never lightens but at every Flash discovers some unpolish'd Jewel, something to admire amidst his barbarous Obscurity: Which is prettily described in a Letter of *Balsac* to *Rigaltius* upon his publishing his Edition of *Tertullian*; — “ I have had a Value (says he) “ for this Author a long time, and as “ harsh and crabbed as he is, yet is he not at all un- “ pleasant to me; I have found in his Writings that “ black Light, mention'd in one of the ancient Po- “ ets; and I look upon his Obscurity with the same “ Pleasure, as upon Ebony which is very bright and “ curiously wrought: This has always been my Opi- “ nion; for as the Beauties of *Afric* are not less a- “ miable, tho' they are not like ours; and as *Sopho- “ nisba* has eclips'd several *Italian* Ladies, so the “ Wits of that Country are not less pleasing with “ this outlandish Sort of Eloquence. I shall prefer “ him before a great many affected Imitators of “ *Cicero*; and tho' we shou'd grant to the nicest “ Criticks, that his Stile is of Iron, yet they must “ likewise own, that out of this Iron he has forged “ most excellent Weapons for the Defence of Chri- “ stianity,

"stianity, that he has quite routed the *Valentinians*,
"and struck *Marcion* to the very Heart.

I shall name but one Authority more, but that is a great one; it is the blessed *Cyprian*, who was converted and made a Bishop soon after the Death of *Tertullian*, whom † *Laſtantiuſ* affirms to be a Writer of such Depth and Clearness, one who expresses himself with that Force, and yet with that ease and flowing Sweetness, that 'tis hard to say, whether he was more perspicuous or persuasive. This Master of Eloquence, I say, found such hidden Stores under the dark and formidable Language of *Tertullian*, that he is reported never to have pass'd a Day without reading him; and when he call'd for his Book, he did it with this Acknowledgement, *Give me my Master*. And here I wish I could stop, and draw a Veil over the lamentable Imperfections of this great Man; but Truth is a greater Friend than *Tertullian*, and such Monuments of Frailty are to be set up like Beacons, to warn others in their Voyage from splitting upon the like Errors; and to teach great Men not to trust too much to their Parts and Learning, nor too rashly to embrace singular Opinions in Religion, in which they are often in the wrong; but more especially, not peremptorily to assert them, nor industriously to propagate them, let them be never so famous, against the received Doctrines of the Primitive Church: *Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall*. *Rigaltius* has shewn some charitable Attempts in his Preface to the Works of this Author, but nothing will excuse him; as we are not to expose our Father's Nakedness with Pleasure, so neither to justify his Shame with Obstinacy. In this complicated Instance of Learning and Frailty we are farther to read the Necessity of our Dependence upon the Grace of God,

† *Laſt. de Juſt. lib. 5. p. 237. Erat enim ingenio facili, copioſo, ſuavi, & (quæ Sermonis maxima eſt Virtus) aperto, ut discernere nequeas, utrumne ornatioꝝ in eloquendo, an facilius in explicando, an potentioꝝ in perſuadendo fuerit.*

the Danger of climbing after extraordinary Heights and Austerities without an humble Spirit, of leaving the Communion of the Church to go to Heaven by our selves, and of wandering after new Lights and new Prophets, when we have the Word of God to be *a Lanthorn to our Feet, and a Light unto our Paths.*

Never Man *prescribed* better against Hereticks than our *Tertullian*, and yet went over to the Hereticks he *prescrib'd* against; for being of a Temper much like his Style, extremely hard and severe, and hearing of *Montanus*, at the best Hand from *Proclus* of the same Party, that he was no holder forth of strange Doctrines, but only of strange Strictness and Severity in Discipline, a Man of Mortification, and of a most sanctify'd Spirit, that he out-fasted and out-prayed the carnal Catholicks by many Degrees, that he was a most powerful Teacher, and gifted with the *Paraclete*, with the Spirit of Prophecy, with amazing Visions and Ecstasies, and God knows what more spiritual Provisions for the *perfecting the Saints*, and advancing the Purity of the Gospel, even beyond the Standard of Christ and his Apostles. Such a Character hit *Tertullian's* Temper to a Hair, and smarting at the same time (as St.^a *Jerom* tells us) under some Resentment from the Roman Clergy, the honest but morose Man was impos'd upon, partly by his present Passion, by his Native Austerity, and by the glittering false Character of *Montanus*, and so separated from the Church, and clos'd with a Discipline after his own Heart.

It must be confess'd, that this Scene of Heresie was deep laid, and gilt over with the most inviting Colours imaginable; for the Arch-Heretick disclaim'd all Innovations in the grand Articles of Faith, and supported the Character of a most holy, mortify'd, and extraordinary Person for a considerable time; the World rung with the Visions and Prophecies of him,

and his two Damfels *Prisca* and *Maximilla*; and the Face of Severity and Saintship consecrated their Reveries, and made real Possession pass for Inspiration. Several good Men immediately embrac'd the Delusion, the Churches of *Phrygia*, and afterwards other Churches, divided upon the Account of these new Revelations; and even the very Bishop of *Rome* himself for some time espous'd the Vanity, and made much of the Imposture. Now great Allowances may be made our Author for being carry'd off by so strong a Delusion, *viz.* That in his Book against *Praxeus*, he says, that he always believ'd in one only God, and in three Persons, and that he still believes it more firmly, since he has been instructed by the *Paraclete* or Comforter: And in his Book *de virginibus velandis*, he says, That excepting the Rule of Faith which is immoveable, all other Matters relating to Discipline may be reform'd and alter'd, and that it is this which the *Paraclete* has done by the Ministry of *Montanus*. But after all, nothing will excuse him, for he not only says that the Law and the Prophets were to be look'd upon as the Infancy, and the Gospel as it were the Youth, but that there was no complete Perfection to be found but in the Instructions of the Holy Ghost, who spake by *Montanus*; for *Tertullian* and the first *Montanists* never believ'd that *Montanus* himself was the *Paraclete*. He not only maintain'd several Opinions expressly against Scripture, as the unlawfulness of second Marriages, and of flying in times of Persecution, but abus'd the Catholicks under the Title of *Psychici* or animal Persons, and arrogantly assum'd to himself and his Party the Name of *Spiritualists*. At length he was excommunicated, then set up separate Meetings at *Carthage*, and for ought any thing we know, was never reconciled to the Church to his dying Day. For which Reason the good *St. Cyprian*, tho' such an Admirer of *Tertullian*, never quotes his Authority, not even upon the inviting Opportunity in a Dispute concerning the Baptism of Hereticks,

wherein they both agreed; and St.^b *Jerome*, no less his Disciple than St. *Cyprian*, absolutely rejects his Testimony, *as a Man not of the Church*.

But now, why this excellent Apology should suffer, and those other Pieces he wrote whilst he continu'd in Communion, and a most zealous Defender of the *Catholick* Faith and Unity, why these should be the worse thought of, and lose their Authority and just Veneration for the sake of after Errors, I cannot tell; I can see no reason for it, tho' St.^c *Hilary* says it, unless it is a good Reason to reject all that a wise Man has written in his right Senses, because afterwards he had the Misfortune to run mad. Sure I am, that a wiser and a greater Man by much than ever *Tertulian* was, fell into grosser Sins than *Montanism*, and yet notwithstanding this Fall, we believe and reverence those Books which the Holy Ghost wrote by *Solomon*, when it fill'd his Heart, and conducted his Spirit as well as Hand. And I need not go about to prove that this Apologetick was compos'd whilst the Author was in the Unity of the *Catholick Church*, since the most judicious Criticks call it not in Question. However, I shall just mention two Arguments, which seem to have had little or no notice taken of them, and which to me are of moment: The one is, The just and fearful Apprehensions of Excommunication this Author expresses in the 39th Chapter of this Apology, where he styles it, *The Anticipation of the future Judgment*: But after he commenc'd *Montanist*, we find him proud and arrogant, and not at all concern'd about it, but at perfect defiance with the Censure and Discipline of the *Catholicks*. The other Argument is, That in the first Chapter of the Apology he gives us reason to believe that he did not set his Name to it, a considerable Instance of his Humility at that time, and that he held it lawful to consult for our Safety in the times of Persecution; but upon his Fall he lost his Humi-

^b Hierom. v. ill. c. 53. p. 284.

^c Hil. can. 5. p. 145.

lity, and makes it even as bad to fly in Persecution, as to renounce the Faith; for in a Treatise upon this Subject he betrays an extravagant Passion, or rather Vanity for Martyrdom, tho' I do not find he had the Honour to die one.

I have now little to add, but only to advertize the Reader, that there has hardly been any Author oftner printed, and upon whom more Persons have spent their Pains, than upon our *Tertullian*; for the Obscurity of this Writer put ignorant Transcribers upon altering the Text, to make out a Sense they themselves could understand; and the Corruptions of these Transcribers put the Learned again upon fresh Editions to set our Author in his own Light. The Editions I have compar'd in the Translation of this Apology, are only that of *Pamelius* at *Paris*, in the Year 1635, which I found extremely ill pointed, and abounding with Faults: The other is that of the learned *Rigaltius*, in 1634, which I have chiefly follow'd, as being the correctest Edition of *Tertullian's* Works yet extant. I have diligently consulted the Notes and various Lections in both, for the better understanding of the Text; and studied the Turn and Genius of my Author, and made my self familiar with his Phraseology and Diction, which I take to be the readiest way to unlock him: As a Man that is us'd to a Room will sooner find out the Key-hole in the dark, than a Stranger can, by the most exact Directions in the World.

As to the manner of the Version, I may say, that I have try'd *Tertullian* in all Dresses; I have put him into Paraphrase, and then methoughts he appear'd too cumbersome in his Cloaths, too tedious and flanting and unlike himself; I dress'd him according to the Letter, and then he look'd horrid, dark, and frightful, not to be understood with Ease, nor read with Pleasure. At length I took the Liberty now and then only to add a little, in order to make Connexion, and unriddle his meaning; but I have followed him

as close as I could among his Briars and Thorns, and been religiously careful in Matters of Moment. In short, I have done my best to preserve his Sense and his Salt, and in as few Words as I could, and to make my unpolish'd *African* look tolerably graceful, and like himself in an *English* Habit.

The Notes indeed are longer than I intended, but upon an Author of such thick Darkneſs they are the more excuſable; however, as I pretend not to inſtruct the Learned, ſo have I been ſo civil as not to ſurfeit them over again with Collections from *Pamelius*, *Rigaltius*, &c. which being partly different Readings and References to other Authors, and Matters of pure Criticiſm and Grammar, and ſuch like Learning, answer not the Deſign of an *English* Translation. The Perſons I chiefly conſulted for, were either Readers of my own ſize, or ſuch as are unacquainted with the *Latin* Tongue. And if I have made the way eaſier to thoſe who have a mind to travel through the rugged Original, or if I have ſtruck out any Sparks of Light and Heat to guide and warm the more Ignorant into the Knowledge and Practice of the Ancients; ſuch, I hope, will not think my Obſervations tedious, tho' they may think them long.

T H E
A P O L O G E T I C K
O F

** Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus,*
In Behalf of the
C H R I S T I A N S.

C H A P. I.

*That the Gentiles Hatred to the Christians
is notoriously unjust.*

IF you, the ^b Guardians of the Roman Empire, presiding in the very Eye of the City, for the Administration of publick Justice; if you must not examin the Christian Cause,

^a *Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus.*] These several Appellations sufficiently distinguish our *Tertullian* from *Tertullus* the Consul, *Tertylianus* the Civilian, and *Tertullinus* the Martyr, with which our Apologist is sometimes confounded. The *Prænomen* *Quintus* may perhaps be given upon the Account of his being the fifth Child of his Parents; he was called *Septimius*, because descended from the *Gens Septimia*, a Tribe of Quality among the Romans, being first Regal, afterwards Plebeian, and last of all, Consular and Patrician; *Florens*, from some particular Family of that House so called; and *Tertullianus* from *Tertullus* perhaps his Father, as *Octavianus* from *Octavius*, *Septiminus* from *Septimius*, &c.

^b *Romani Imperii Antistites in ipso fere vertice Civitatis presidentes ad judicandum.*] *Baronius* is of Opinion, *Bar. 201*, that this

Cause, and give it a fair Hearing in open Court; if the Christian Cause is the only Cause, which your Lordships either fear or blush to be concern'd for in Publick; or lastly, if your *Odium* to this Sect has been too much fermented

Apologetick was wrote at *Rome*, and not at *Carthage*, wherein he is generally follow'd, but not by *Pamelius*, as the *Author* of the Notes upon *Du Pin* too hastily charges him, nor by *Dalix*, *Du Pin*, *Dr. Cave*, or *Tillemont*. *Baronius's* Reason for this Opinion, is, that *Tertullian* often speaks as being at *Rome*, and that he addresses in these Words, To the *Roman Senate*. But these Words neither prove it to be written at *Rome*, nor presented to the *Senate* of *Rome*, for they are with much better reason applicable to the *Proconsul* and *Governors* of *Africk*; for he says, They preside in *vertice Civitatis*, and our Apologist never calls *Rome* by the Name of *Civitas* but *Urbs*. He speaks likewise of *Rome* and the *Romans* as being neither in their City nor amongst them; cap. 9, 21, 24, 35, 45. And speaking of the cruel and sanguinary Devotions of the *Heathen* in many Places, especially (says he) in illâ Religiosissimâ Urbe *Æneadarum piorum*, &c. by which undoubtedly he means *Rome*; and the manner of the Expression plainly determines him not to be there at the time of his Writing; for had he been at *Rome* at this time, he would have said in hac Urbe, and not in illa Urbe, cap. 9. And in the same Chapter recounting the bloody Rites in the *Scythian* Worship, he urges,—But I need not go so far as *Scythia*, for we have now at this Day as barbarous Ceremonies at home, that is, at *Carthage*. Besides, cap. 45. he speaks of the *Proconsul* as the *Sovereign Magistrate*, and ev'ry one knows the *Proconsul* to have been the *Premier Magistrate* of *Africa*, and to have had his Residence at *Carthage*. Moreover, 'tis very probable that he address'd to the *Governors* of *Africk*, and not to the *Senate* of *Rome*; 1st, Because there is not one Word of the *Senate* in this whole Apology, 2dly, Because cap. 45. he lashes those to whom he wrote, for endeavouring to gain the good Graces of the *Proconsul*, by signalizing their Cruelty against the *Christians*. And 3dly, Because he constantly gives them the Title of *Præsides*, cap. 2. 9. 30. 50. a Title very much affected by ev'ry Officer under the *Proconsul* of the Province. And neither *Præsides* nor *Proconsul* were Titles that did belong to any Magistrate of *Rome*; for in Danger of War in the Provinces, the *Præfeti Cæsaris* were chosen by the Emperor himself, and sent to reside in the Metropolis, but the *Proconsuls* were chosen by Lot after their Consulship, into the several Provinces: And therefore *Dio* expresseth *Claudius* his restoring *Macedonia* into the Hands of

ted by your late ^c Severities at home upon your Christian Servants, and *you bring this domestick Ferment into the Courts of Judicature*; if these, I say, are the Bars in our way to Justice, be pleas'd at least to tolerate thus far, to let Truth wait upon you in private, and to read the Apology we are not suffered to speak.

We enter ^e not upon our Defence in the popular way, by begging your Favour, and moving your Compassion, because we know the State of our Religion too well, to wonder at our Usage. The Truth we profess, we know to be a Stranger upon Earth, and she expects not Friends in a strange Land; but she came from Heaven, and her abode is there, and there

of the Senate, by ἀπέδωκεν τότε τὸ κλῆρον, he put it to the Choice of the Senate again. Dio. Hist. l. 57. So that we are not to understand *Antistites Imperii* to be the same with *Pontifices*, according to *Zephyrus*, nor by *vertice Civitatis* the Capitol, according to *Rigaltius*; tho' 'tis likely he might mean the *Byrsa* of Carthage, according to that of *Silius Italicus*:

*Quasivitque diu qua tandem poneret arce
Terrarum fortuna caput.*—————

* *Domesticis Judiciis.*] By these Words I understand with *Rigaltius* the Severities exercis'd at home by the Presidents upon their Domesticks and Children for turning Christians, which private Severities contributed very much to prejudice and exasperate them, even in open Court, against the Christians in general.

^d *Deprecari.*] It is a Law-Term, and properly signifies to intercede with the King for Pardon, or to plead with a Judge in excuse of the Criminal, according to that of *Tully pro Ligario*, *Ignoscite Judices, erravit, lapsus est, non putavit, &c.* But here the Christian Advocate pleads only for rigid Justice, as the Martyr *Justin* had done before him. He understood the Christian Cause too well, to think it stood in need of Oratory, and the Arts of excusing. *Vid. A. Gell. lib. 6, cap. 16.* Concerning the Signification of the Word *Deprecor*.

are all our Hopes, all our Friends, and all our Preferments. One thing indeed this Heavenly Stranger warmly pleads for in Arrest of Judgment, and 'tis only this, that you would vouchsafe to understand her well before you condemn her. And what can the Laws suffer in their Authority, by admitting her to a full hearing? Will not their Power rise in Glory for the Justice of a hearing? But if you condemn her unheard, besides the Odium of flaming Injustice, you will deservedly incur the Suspicion of being conscious of something that makes you so unwilling to hear; what, when heard, you cannot condemn.

First therefore, we lay before you Ignorance, as the chief Root of your unjustifiable Bitterness to the Christian Name; and this very Ignorance, which you may flatter your selves with as a Title to Excuse, is the very thing that loads your Charge, and binds the heavier Guilt upon you. For, shew me a grosser piece of Iniquity, than for Men to hate what they understand not, supposing the thing in it self deserves to be hated; for then only can a thing deserve from us to be hated, when we are appriz'd of its Deserts; if not acquainted with the Merits of the Cause, what can we possibly urge in the Defence of Hatred? which is not to be justify'd by the Event, or because the Passion may happen to be right, but by the Principle of Conscience upon which it is founded.

When therefore Men will be thus hating in the dark, why mayn't the blind Passion fall foul upon Virtue, as well as Vice? So that we
argue

argue against our Adversaries upon two Articles, For hating us ignorantly; and consequently, for hating us unjustly. And that you hate us ignorantly, (which still I say does but aggravate your Crime) I prove from hence, Because all who hated us heretofore, did it upon the same Ground, being no longer able to continue our Enemies, than they continu'd ignorant of our Religion; their Hatred and their Ignorance fell together.

Such are the Men, you now see Christians, manifestly overcome by the Piety of our Profession, and who now reflect upon their Lives past with Abhorrence, and profess it to the World; and the numbers of such Professors are not less than they are given in; for the common Cry is, The City is invested, Town and Country over-run with Christians. And this universal Revolt in all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities, is lamented as a publick Loss; and yet this prodigious Progress of Christianity, is not enough to surprize Men into a Suspicion, that there must needs be some secret Good, some charming Advantage at the bottom, *thus to drain the World, and attract from ev'ry Quarter*: But nothing will dispose some Men to juster Thoughts, or to make a more intimate Experiment of our Religion. In this alone, humane Curiosity seems to stagnate, and with as much Complacency to stand still in Ignorance, as it usually runs on in the Discoveries of Science.

Alas!

Alas! how wou'd poor ^e *Anacharsis* have been struck at such Proceedings, to see the very Judges of Religion entirely ignorant of the Religion they condemn, who look'd upon it so absurd, for the Rewards of a *Fidler* to be adjudg'd by any but the Masters of the *Science*. But such are our Enemies, that they choose to indulge their Ignorance, merely for the growth of their Hatred; foreboding within themselves, that what they hate without Knowledge, may chance to be a thing of so lovely a Nature, that shou'd they come to know it, they would be in Danger of losing their Hatred; whereas Hatred is not to be kept a Moment longer than it has Justice on its side: If so, spare not, not only give a present loose to your Resentments, but also persevere in a Passion, thus seconded and strengthen'd by the Authority of Justice.

But 'tis objected, that the number of Christians, is no Argument of the Goodness of their Cause. For how many change from better to worse? how many Deferters to the wrong side? And who denies this? But yet, are any of those Men, who are press'd away to Sin by the Violence of Appetites, are they hardy enough to appear in the Defence of Wickedness, or appeal to publick Justice for the Patronage of notorious Evil? For every Evil is by Nature dy'd in Grain with Shame and Fear. The Guilty hunt for Refuge in Darkness, and when apprehended, tremble; when

^e *Anacharsis*.] See his Life in *Diog. Laertius*.

accus'd, deny; and are hardly to be torment-ed into a Confession; when condemn'd, they sink down in Sadness, and turn over their Number of Sins in Confusions of Conscience, and charge the Guilt upon the ^f Stars or De-stiny; unwilling to acknowledge that, as their own Act, which they acknowledge to be criminal.

But do you see any thing like this, in the Deportment of Christians? not one Christian blushes or repents, unless it be for not having been a Christian sooner. If a Christian goes to Tryal, he goes like a Victor, with the Air of a Triumph; if he is impeach'd, he glories in it, if indicted, he makes no Defence at

^f *Fato vel Astris imputant.*] Guilt is an ugly, frightful, and uneasy thing; and this it was that put Men at first upon contriving an Expedient how to satisfy their Conscience, in Spite of their Sin; and the Expedient was this, To lay the Blame upon Fate, or the Stars, or any thing but themselves. Predestination in the rigid Sense is not one jot better than Fate in the Sense of the Stoicks. And tho' it occasion'd at one time so much Feud and Bitterness all about us, and the Controversie order'd by Authority to dye, yet is it now again [†] reviv'd, as the *Ramparts and Bulwarks of Christianity*, and the rarest Contrivance in the World, to make us not only *almost* but altogether *One Kirk*; for which, no doubt, the Doctor expects the Thanks of the united Nations. *The Generality of the Clergy* he stigmatizes *Apostates*, for being Assertors of Free Will; and if so, what will become of the Fathers of the first four Centuries, I cannot tell: Sure I am, poor *Justin Martyr* is an *Apostate* with a Witness. *Ap. 1. Sect. 54.* But if the Doctor would but follow his own Advice, *That is, in one Word, let us be moderate*, and give his Brethren *hard Reasons* instead of *hard Names*, it would make much more for Union, I dare say, than his Doctrine of Predestination; which should it take effect, we should not have one Criminal that goes to be hang'd, but, as *Tertullian* says, would be cursing his Stars, and laying all the Fault upon Destiny, that is, God.

[†] *John Edwards*
D. D. his Sermon
upon the Union,
May 1. 1707. in-
titled, *One Nati-
on, and One King.*

Bar,

Bar, when interrogated he frankly confesses, and when condemn'd returns Thanks to his Judges.

What ^s a Monster of Wickedness is this, that has not one Shape or Feature of Wicked-

* *Quid hoc mali est, quod naturalia mali non habet?*] *Naturalia* is the same here as *Natura*, for he says, *Quod hoc malum est in quo natura mali cessat?* ad Nat. p. 461. But that which is more remarkable, is, that here we have an admirable Description, and a most sensible Proof, both of the Truth and the Power of the Christian Religion; for did ever any Impostor set up a Religion so ill calculated to the Passions and Relish of Mankind? Did he ever propose a Doctrine to the World, without one worldly Motive to recommend it, without one external Comfort to hope for, or one Arm to defend it? Did *Judas* discover the Secret, when he betray'd his Master? or had it been a Cheat, would the Traytor have hang'd himself for his Treason? Was there ever such a Noble Army of Martyrs, who dy'd so calmly and deliberately, and express'd so much Innocence, so much Joy and Assurance in their Sufferings, as they did? So that either we must suppose Christ to have been the shallowest of Impostors (which the Wisdom of his Precepts will not admit) to set up a Religion so ungrateful to Flesh and Blood, without any visible Force or Reward to maintain it; and withal, that good part of the World, of all sorts and sizes, happen'd luckily to be stark staring mad for Suffering, and to continue so for above 300 Years together; or else we must suppose, that Christ came down from Heaven, and that the Sufferers had all the Reason imaginable to believe it, and therefore by help of divine Grace, and the Power of Conviction, they despis'd every thing here below for the Joy that was set before them. This Argument is likewise prosecuted by *Arnobius*, *adv. Gent. lib. 2. p. 21.* as a mighty Instance of the Divinity of the Christian Faith, that in so short a time it shou'd be too hard for the Wisdom and Pleasures of the World, and work so with Men of the greatest Parts and Learning, and of the greatest Fortunes, as to make 'em part with their Notions and Estates, and submit to any Torments rather than part with the Christian Faith; and that the *Gentiles* did not think it advisable to venture their Skin for their Doctrine. That *Plato*, in his Academy, introduced a dark and ambiguous way of delivering his Opinions, for fear of going the Way of *Socrates*. And *Origen* tells *Celsus*, *Cont. Cels. lib. p. 51.* that *Aristotle* quitted *Athens*, and left his Philosophy to shift for it self, as soon as he understood that the *Athenians* intended to call him to Account: So little could Philosophy prevail against Self-preservation.

ness belonging to it? Nothing of Fear, or Shame, or Artifice, or Repentance, or the desponding Sighs of Criminals attending on it. What a strange-natur'd Evil, or *Reverse of Wickedness is this!* that makes the Guilty joyce, and ambitious of Accusation, and happy in Punishment: Nor can you charge these odd Appearances as the Effects of Madness, since you are altogether unacquainted with the Powers of the Christian Religion.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the Malice and Perverseness of the Judges, in the way of condemning or absolving the Christians.

BUT if 'tis resolv'd we must be guilty, pray what's your Reason for treating us differently from other Criminals? For 'tis a Rule in Law, that where the Case is the same, there the Procedure of Court ought to be the same also. But when we, and Heathens are impeach'd upon the same Articles, the Heathen shall be allow'd the Privilege of Council, and of pleading in Person for the setting off his Innocence, ^a it being against Law to proceed to Sentence, before the Defendent has put in

^a *Quando nec liceat indefensos & inauditos damnari.*] He alludes to the Law *de requir. Rei*, made by Severus a little before the Publication of this Apology.

his Answer; but a Christian is permitted nothing, not to speak what is necessary, either to justify his Cause, defend the Truth, or prevent the Injustice of his Judges. On the contrary, nothing is attended to in his Tryal, but how to inflame the Mob, and therefore the Question is about his Name only, and not the Nature of his Crime: Whereas if you sit in Judgment upon another Criminal, and he pleads guilty to the Indictment, suppose of Homicide, Sacrilege, Incest or Rebellion, (to instance in the common Heads of your ^b Libels against us) upon such Confession, I say, 'tis not your Method forthwith to proceed to Sentence, but you have Patience to examine the Nature of the Fact in all its Circumstances, *viz.* The Place, the Time, the Manner, and the Accomplishes of the Action: But in the Tryal of a Christian, all these Forms of Justice are over-rul'd. But let me tell you, would you acquit yourselves with any Appearance of Equity, you ought on both sides to be equally severe in the Examination of Fact, and see to the bottom of those Reports, so frequently and so falsely

^b *Ut de vestris Elogiis loquar.*] *Elogium* is a Civil Law Term which frequently occurs in this Author, particularly *lib. ad Scap. de cor. Mil. cap. 5, &c.* and is the same among the Civilians as *Epistola*, *Notoria*, *Relationes*, a Libel or Declaration, setting forth the Crimes of the Person indicted, it was provided by the Law *de custo. & exhib. Reorum, ne quisquam puniatur ex Epistolis & Actis Pedanei & minoris Judicis.* And therefore *Pudens*, who had a Mind to favour the Christians, sent back a Christian Prisoner, because there appeared against him no Witness or Proof, but the *Elogium*, or Epistle from an inferior Judge. *Pudens missum ad se Christianum, in Elogio concussione ejus intellecta dimisit, Sciss. eodem Elogio sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem secundum mandatum.* Vid. Gab. Albaspin. not. ad Scap.

thrust upon us. For Instance, to bring in a true List of how many ^c Infants ev'ry Christian has kill'd and eat, what Incests committed in the dark, what Cooks we had for the dressing these Children's Flesh, and what *pimping* Dogs for putting out the Candles?

O! what immortal Glory would a *Proconsul* gain among the People, could he pull out a Christian by the Ears that had eat up a hundred Children! but we despair of any such glorious Discovery, when we reflect upon the Edict against searching after us. For *Pliny* ^d the second, in his *Proconsulship* of *Asia*, having put many Christians to death, and turn'd others out of their Places; and being still astonish'd at our Numbers, sends to the Emperor *Trajan* for Orders about proceeding for the time to come; alledging withal, that for his part, after the strictest Enquiry, he could find nothing more in our Religion, but Obstinacy against sacrificing to the Gods, and that we assembled before Day to sing Hymns to God and Christ, and to confirm one another in that way of Worship; prohibiting Homicide, Adultery, Fraud, Perfidiousness, and all other sorts of Wickedness. Upon which Information *Trajan*

^c For a fuller Explication of this Passage, and the Foundation of this horrid Slander, see my Notes upon *Justin Martyr's* Apology, Ap. 1. Sect. 35. The Dogs which are said to be ty'd to the Candlesticks, and to have Crufts thrown 'em just beyond the reach of their String, in order to make 'em leap, and strain, and pull down the Candles, are by *Tertullian*, cap. 7. called *Luminum Ever-sores* & *Lenones*, which, to follow his own biting way, I translate *Pimping Dogs*.

^d Vid. *Plin. Epist. lib. 10. Ep. 97.*

writes back, That such kind of Men as these were not to be search'd after, but yet to be punish'd if brought before him. O Perplexity between Reasons of State and Justice! he declares us to be innocent, by forbidding us to be searched after, and at the same time commands us to be punish'd as Criminals: What a Mass of Kindness and Cruelty, Connivance and Punishment, is here confounded in one Act! *Unhappy Edict*, thus to circumvent and hamper your self in your own ambiguous Answer! If you condemn us, why do you give Orders against searching after us? And if you think it not well to search after us, why don't you acquit us? Soldiers are set to Patrol in every Province for the apprehending of Robbers, and every private Person justifies taking up Arms against Traytors, and Enemies of the Commonwealth; and moreover is oblig'd to make Inquiry after all the Conspirators; but a Christian only, is a Criminal of that strange kind, that no Inquiry must be made to find him, and yet when found may be brought to the Tribunal; as if this Inquiry was design'd for any other purpose, but to bring Offenders to Justice: You condemn him therefore when brought, whom the Laws forbid to be search'd after; not that in your Hearts you can think him guilty, *but only to get into the good Graces of the People, whose Zeal has transported 'em to search him out against the Intention of the Edict.*

This also is very extraordinary in your Proceedings against us, that you rack others to
confess,

confess, but torment Christians to deny : whereas, was Christianity a wicked thing, we no doubt should imitate the wicked in the Arts of Concealment, and force you to apply your Engines of Confession : Nor can you conclude it needless to torture a Christian into a Confession of Particulars, because you resolve that the very Name must include all that's Evil. For when a Murtherer has confess'd, and you are satisfy'd as to the Fact, yet you constrain him to lay before you the Order and Circumstances of the whole Action : And what makes the thing look worse yet, is, that notwithstanding you presume upon our Wickedness, merely from our owning the Name, yet at the same time you use Violence to make us retract that Confession, that by retracting the bare Name only, we might be acquitted of the Crimes father'd upon it. But perhaps I am to imagine your excessive Tenderneſs to be such, that you are willing to acquit the very Persons you conclude the greatest Villains in the World ; and perhaps it may be your Custom to say to a Murtherer, *Deny the Murther*, and to command the Sacrilegious to be put to the Rack, for persevering in his Confession of Sacrilege.

But now, if your Process against us, and other Criminals is notoriously different, 'tis a shrewd Sign you believe us innocent ; and that this very Belief of our Innocence is the Spring which sets you at work for our Deliverance, by forcing us to deny our Name ; which tho' in Justice you know you cannot, yet for Rea-

sons of State you must condemn. A Man cries out upon the Rack, *I am a Christian*; you hear him proclaim to the World what really he is, and you would fain have him say what really he is not. That ever Judges, who are commission'd to torture for the Confession of Truth, shou'd abuse it upon Christians only, for the Extortion of a Lye! You demand what I am, and I say I am a Christian; why do you torture me to unsay it? I confess, and you rack on; if I confess not, what will you do? If other Malefactors deny, 'tis with Difficulty you believe 'em; but if Christians deny, you acquit 'em at a Word. Certainly you must think yourselves in the wrong for such Proceedings, and be conscious of a secret Bias upon your Judgments, that makes you run thus counter to the Forms of Court, the Reasons of Justice, and the very Intent of the Laws themselves. For, if I mistake not, the Laws are very express, That Criminals shou'd be discover'd, and not conceal'd; and that upon Confession they should be condemn'd, and not acquitted. The Acts of the Senate, and the Edicts of the Emperors prescribe this. These are the Maxims of that Government you are Ministers of, and your Power is defin'd by these Laws, and not arbitrary and tyrannical.

Tyrants indeed have no respect to the Proportions of Justice, in the Distributions of Punishment, but apply Tortures at Pleasure. But you are restrained by Law; and to apply 'em only for the Confession of Truth, preserve this Law in full Vigour, and for the end it was made.

made. For if the Accus'd confess, 'tis absurd to put 'em to the Question; the Law of Tortures is answer'd, and you have nothing to do in this Case, but to consider the Nature of the Fact, and punish it accordingly. For every Malefactor is a Debtor to the Law, and to be ^e wip'd out of the publick Accounts upon paying his Punishment, and not discharg'd merely upon the Confession of his Fault. No Judge attempts openly to acquit a Criminal barely upon his pleading guilty, nor can he justify a thought of so doing; and therefore no one can be justly serv'd with Torments to deny, when the Law was designed only to make him confess.

You look upon a Christian as the Sum total of Iniquity, a Despiser of the Gods, Emperors, Laws, Morality, and in one Word, an Enemy of humane Nature; and yet this is the Man you rack, that you may absolve, because without racking him into a denial of his Name, you cannot absolve him. This, or nothing, is prevaricating with the Laws; you would have him plead not guilty, for you to pronounce him innocent, and discharge him from all past Crimes, whether he will or no. But how can Men be so perverse, as

^e *Debito pœnæ nocens expungendus est.*] This is a very familiar Phrase with our Author, and the Ground of it is this, The Executioner had a Roll of the Names of the Condemned, and the Punishment they were to suffer; and a Criminal being a Debtor, when he had pay'd his Punishment he was expung'd, or cross'd out of the Roll: And so *dare Pœnas* is to pay the Pain an Offender owes to the Publick.

to imagine, that he who confesses a thing freely, is not more to be credited, than he who denies it by Compulsion? or cannot a Man speak Truth, without the help of a Rack? And being absolv'd upon a forc'd denial of his Religion, he must needs conclude such external Applications of Cruelty, very foolish things for the Conversion of the Mind, when in spite of all these Impressions upon his Body, he finds himself still a Christian in his Conscience,

Since therefore you treat us differently in every thing, from other Criminals, and what you chiefly push at, is the Destruction of our Name (and we our selves destroy this, by doing what the Heathens indulge themselves in) since this, I say, is the main thing you contend for; you cannot but see, that our Name is the greatest Crime in our Indictment; in the Persecution of which Name, Men vie Hatred, and are ambitious to excel each other in Malice: And this Emulation is the chief Reason why they are so stedfast in Ignorance; therefore they devour all Reports of us without chewing, and are so averse to any legal Inquiry, for fear these Reports shou'd prove to be false, which they would have pass for true, that the hated Name of Christian might be condemn'd upon Presumption, without the Danger of a Proof; and that the Confession of this Name might serve for a sufficient Conviction of the Crimes charg'd against it. Hence it is, that we are tortur'd against Law for confessing, and tormented on for persisting
in

in that Confession; and against Law absolved for denying, because all the Dispute is about our Name only.

But after all, when you proceed to Judgment, and read over the Table or Catalogue of Crimes you pass Sentence against, why do you mention the Christian only? Why don't you mention the Murther, the Incest, and the rest of that Train commonly imputed to us? We alone are the Persons you are asham'd to condemn, without signifying the Actions you condemn us for; if a Christian is accus'd of no Crime, the Name surely must be of a strange Nature to be criminal in it self only.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the odious Title of Christian.

WHAT an unaccountable Thing is it, for so many Men to blindfold themselves on purpose to fall foul upon Christianity? and to such a Degree, that they cannot talk about the noted Probity of any Christian without allaying his Character with a dash of his Religion. *Cains Sejus* (says one) is a very good Man, but—he's a Christian. I'll tell you what, (says another) I wonder that *Lucius* the Philosopher is all of a sudden turn'd Christian. And none has Sense enough in his Passion to put the Question right, and argue in this manner. Is not *Cains* so good, and *Lu-*
cins

cins so wise, merely from the Influence of their Religion? or was it not the Probity of the one, and the Wisdom of the other, that prepar'd the way, and brought 'em over to be Christians?

Thus indeed they praise what they know, but vilifie what they know not; they blot the fairest Examples of Virtue shining in their very Eyes, because of a Religion they are intirely in the dark about; whereas certainly, by all the Rules of Reason, we ought to judge of the Nature of Causes we see not, by the Effects we see, and not pre-condemn apparent Goodness for Principles we understand not. Others, discoursing of some Persons whom they knew to be Vagrants, and infamously lewd before they came over to our Religion, drop their Praises upon 'em in such a manner, that they stigmatize 'em with their very Compliments; so darken'd are they with Prejudice, that they blunder into the Commendation of the thing they would condemn. For (say they) how wanton, and how witty was such a Woman! how amorous and frolicksome was such a young Gentleman! but now they are Christians: Thus undesignedly they fix the Amendment of their Lives upon the Alteration of their Religion.

Some others are arriv'd to that pitch of Aversion to the very Name of Christian, that they seem to have enter'd into Covenant with Hatred, and bargain'd to gratifie this Passion at the Expence of all the Satisfactions of humane Life, acquiescing in the grossest of Injuries,
rather

rather than the hated thing of Christian shou'd come within their Doors. The Husband, now cured of all his former Jealousie by his Wife's Conversion to Christianity, turns her and her new Modesty out of Doors together, choosing to dwell with an Adulteress, sooner than a Christian: The Father, so tender of the undutiful Son in his Gentile State, disinherits him now, when he becomes obedient by becoming a Christian: The Master, heretofore so good to his unfaithful Slave, discards him now upon his Fidelity, and his Religion. So that the Husband had rather have his Wife false, the Father his Son a Rebel, the Master his Servant a Rogue, than Christians and good: So much is the Hatred of our Name, above all the Advantages of Virtue flowing from it.

Now therefore, if all this Odium arises purely upon the Account of our Name, pray tell me how a poor Name comes to be thus to blame, or a simple Word to be a Criminal? unless it be that the Word is barbarous, or sounds ominously, reproachfully, or obscenely. But Christian is a *Greek* Word, and means nothing more than a Disciple of Christ, which by Interpretation is the Anointed; and when you misname it ^a Chrestian, (for so far are you from

^a *Sed & cum perperam Chrestianus pronunciatur a vobis.*] See the Notes upon *Justin's* first Ap. Sect. 3. concerning the Word *Chrestus*; I only add here, that *Marcellus Donatus* conjectures this *Chrestus* to have been some seditious Jew call'd by that Name, for which he produces several *Inscriptions* wherein that Name occurs, but

from understanding our Religion, that as yet you know not our true Name) even then it implies nothing worse than a Benignity and Sweetness of Temper; thus outrageous are you at the sound of a Name, as inoffensive and harmless as those who bear it. But do Men use to let loose their Passions at this Rate against any Sect, merely for the Name of its Founder? Is it a new thing for Scholars to be named from their Masters? Is it not from hence that Philosophers are call'd *Platonists*, *Epicureans*, *Pythagoreans*, &c? Do not the Stoicks and Academicks derive their Names from the ^b Porch and Academy, the Places where they meet and discourse together? And do not Physicians glory in the Title of their ^c *Erasistratus*, and Grammarians in that of ^d *Aristarchus*?

but not one wherein 'tis given to a Jew, which ought first to have been produced to justify his Conjecture; but the Christian Apologists prove it a Mistake beyond dispute. Vid. *Donat. Dilucid. in Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.*

^b *Stoicks* from *Στοά*, a Porch, or Gallery.

• *Erasistratus*.] This Physician is mention'd by our *Tertullian*, *lib. de an. c. 15.* *Pliny* fixes his Life, *An. urb. cond. 450. lib. 14. cap. 7.* and mentions his School *lib. 20. cap. 9.* and again, *lib. 29. cap. 2.* makes him the Disciple of *Chrysippus*, and *Aristotle's* Daughter's Son, who for the Cure of King *Antiochus* had of his Son *Ptolemy* a Fee of an hundred Talents.

^d *Aristarchus*.] A noted Grammarian of *Alexandria*, *Aristotle's* Contemporary, Tutor to the Son of *Ptolemy Philometor*, celebrated by *Tully ad Appium Pulchrum*, *lib. 3. Epist. 11.* for distinguishing the genuine Verses of *Homer*; and so likewise by *Ovid*,

*Corrigere at res est tanto magis ardua, quanto
Magnus Aristarcho major Homerus erat. Ov. Pont.*

And so again by *Horace, ad Pisones*,

*Arguet ambigüe dictum, mutanda notabit,
Fiet Aristarchus.*

And

And are not even Cooks themselves, not a little proud of the Name of *Apicius*? Nor in any of these Instances are you offended with the Name transmitted from the Founder of the Sect; but if you cou'd prove any Sect to be vicious in Principle, and consequently the Author of it to be so too, there's Reason enough to hate the Name upon the Account of both. In a Word, before we give Entertainment to Hatred against any Sect whatever, upon Account of its Name, we ought in the first Place to have competently examin'd the Nature of the Institution, and trac'd out its Qualities from the Author, or the Author from them; but both these ways of Inquiry are quite neglected, and our Enemies storm and fire at a Word only. Our heavenly Master, and his heavenly Religion, are both unknown, and both condemn'd, without any other Consideration, but that of the bare Name of Christian.

* *Apicius*.] An Epicure of famous Memory, styled by *Pliny*, *Nepotum omnium altissimus Gurgis*; and so again by *Juvenal*:

*Quid enim majore cachinno
Excipitur vulgi, quam pauper Apicius?*

C H A P. IV.

*That human Laws may err, and therefore
may be mended.*

THUS far I have been something severe, as it were, by way of Preface, to make Men sensible if I cou'd of the Injustice of the publick *Odium* against us; and now I shall stay a while upon the Subject of our Innocence. And here I shall not only refute the Objections against us, but retort those very Objections against the Objectors themselves; to let the World see, that Christians are not the Men they take 'em to be, nor sullied with those Crimes they are conscious of in themselves; and to see also, whether I can make our Accusers blush, not by charging them in general, as the worst of Men accusing the best, but supposing us both upon the level of Iniquity. I shall touch upon all the Particulars we are tax'd with for committing in private, and for which we are publicly branded as immoral, superstitious, damnable, and ridiculous; these very Crimes, I say, which you grant we have not the Forehead to do without the Protection of Darkeness, we find our Enemies hardy enough to commit in the Face of the Sun.

But because we meet you with unanswerable Truth at all your Turnings, your last Resort is to the Authority of the Laws, as more inviolable than Truth it self; and it being so frequently

frequently in your Mouths, either that nothing ought to be revok'd after once condemn'd by Law; or that your sworn Obedience is a Necessity upon your Actions, weightier than that of Justice. I shall first enter upon the Obligation due to human Laws, with you who are the sworn Protectors of them.

First then, when you rigidly insist upon this, that Christianity is against Law, and prescribe against dispensing one jot with the Letter, upon any Considerations of Equity, this, I say, is acting Iniquity by Law; and you sit rather like Tyrants than Judges of a Court, willing a thing to be unlawful, because you will, and not because it is so. But if your Will is regulated by the Measures of Good and Evil, and you forbid a thing because it ought to be forbidden; then certainly, by this Rule of right Reason, you cannot license Evil, nor forbid the Obligations of doing Good. If I find a Prohibition issu'd out against the Laws of Nature, do not I conclude such a Prohibition to be invalid? whereas, if the Matter of it be lawful, I ^a never dispute my Obedience.

Nor

^a *Quod si malum esset, jure prohiberet.*] Here we have the Measures of Obedience due to human Laws briefly stated by *Tertullian*; "For (says he) where nothing is commanded, either against the Law of Nature, or the positive Law of God, I never dispute my Obedience. Had the Primitive Christians refus'd Obedience to the Civil Magistrate, in *Matters indifferent*, Christianity (humanly speaking) had never been a *National Religion*; and if our *Dissenting Brethren* would be decided by this Rule, and according to *Tertullian*, comply with the Magistrate's Commands, in every thing not unlawful in it self, or with respect to the plain Word of God, they would then, and not till then, fulfil the Apostle's Injunction of

Nor think it strange, if your Laws are sometimes in the wrong, since they are but the Composures of Men, and not the Commands of God. Is it so strange to see Mortals out of the way in making Laws, and wiser upon Experience, and repealing what they once approv'd? Did not the Laws even of *Lycurgus* suffer Amendments? Was not their Severity sweetn'd by the *Spartans*, and better accommodated to civil Use? And did not this Alteration go so near the great Law-giver's Heart, that he quitted his Country in a pett, and pin'd himself to Death, being his own Judge and his own Executioner? Does not your Experience light you ev'ry Day to the Mistakes and Rubbish of Antiquity? and have you not cut down a huge and horrid Wood of old Laws, and planted the new Edicts and Rescripts of the Emperors in their stead? Did not *Severus*, of all the Emperors least given to change, lately alter the ^b *Papian* Law, vainly solicitous about the Propagation of Children before the time allow'd for Matrimony by the

of doing all that is possible, and as much as lyeth in them, to live peaceably with all Men: But if the Magistrate cannot lawfully command in things, where neither the natural nor the positive Law of God interpose to the contrary, he can command in nothing, because such things only can be subject to his Disposal.

^b *Vanissimas Papias leges quæ ante liberos suscipi cogunt, quam Jul. Matr. contr.*] Concerning these Laws see *Rigaltius* and *Pamelius* upon this Place. But that which I remark, is, that *Scaliger* would infer from the following Words, that this Apology was not compos'd till a little after the Death of *Severus*, because it is said, *heri Severus, &c. exclusit*; but I confess, I cannot see why lately repealing may not agree to a living Prince, as well as a dead one. But I shall shew this Opinion to be evidently a Mistake of *Scaliger* in the Sequel of this Apology.

Julian

Julian Law, without any Respect to the Venerableness of Antiquity? And ° insolvent Debtors, by the Laws were to be chopt in Pieces by their Creditors; but these sanguinary Statutes were by succeeding Ages repeal'd, and the capital Punishment commuted into a Mark of Infamy, together with the Sale of their Goods, it being look'd upon better to put the Offender to open shame, than to let out his Blood for Debt. And how many Laws think you are still behind which want revising, that are not valuable for their Number of Years, or the Dignity of their Founder, but upon the account of Justice only? And therefore if they are found not to be according to this Standard, are deservedly condemned, altho' we are condemned by them. And if they punish for a mere Name, they are not only to be exploded for their Iniquity, but to be hiss'd off the World for their Folly. But if the Laws are to take Cognizance of Actions

° *Judicatos retro in partes sc̄ari a Creditoribus Leges erant.*] Here he evidently alludes to the Law of the twelve Tables, cap. 8. *de nexis*; for thus it runs, *Tertiis nundinis capite p̄nas luito, aut trans Tiberim peregrè ito, aut si plures erunt rei, tertiis nundinis. Partis. secanto. si. plus minus. ve. secuerunt. se. fraude. esto.* The meaning of which, as it is explain'd by *A. Gellius. Noſt. Att. lib. 20.* is this: Debt was a Capital Crime by Law, and the Creditor might either have the Life of the Insolvent, or send him beyond *Tibur* to be sold for a Slave; but if the Insolvent was indebted to more than one, the Creditors might cut him into Pieces in proportion to every one's Debt. And this Barbarity he justifies only by the End and Design of the Law-givers, which was not so much to punish, as to prevent Men from running into Debt by the Severity of the Punishment; for he tells us, He never read of one Debtor dissected, *Quoniam sc̄vitia ista P̄na contemni non quita est*; but for Bonds and Imprisonment Rogués value 'em not, and run in Debt continually.

only, why are we punish'd for the Name of our Sect, when no others are so punish'd? I am guilty of Incest, or have kill'd a Child, suppose, Why don't you make Enquiry after my Crimes, and extort them from me by Confession upon the Rack? I have injur'd the Gods or Emperors, Why am I not to be heard on these Points? Surely no Law can forbid the Discussion of what it is to condemn, because no Judge can justly proceed to Sentence, before he is well appris'd of the Illegality of the Fact; nor can a Citizen justify his obedience to a Law, while he apprehends not the Quality of the Action it is to punish: For 'tis by no means sufficient, that a Law be good in it self, but that Goodness also must be made appear to him, who is to put it in execution; and that Law is much to be suspected, that don't care to be look'd into; but is notoriously Tyrannical, if after it is look'd into wou'd reign a Law still in defiance of Reason.

C H A P. V.

That the Wisest of the Emperors have been Protectors of the Christians.

BUT to see the Rashness and Injustice of the Laws against us, let us cast an eye back upon their Original, and we shall find an
old

old ^d Decree, whereby the Emperor himself was disabl'd from consecrating a new God, without the Approbation of the Senate. *M. Æmilius* learnt this with a Witness, in the case of his God ^e *Alburnus*. And this makes not a little for the Honour of Christianity, to see the Heathens in Consult about making Gods; and if the God is not such a Deity as they like, he is like to be no God for them. Strange! That the God is first to pray the Man to be propitious, before the Man will allow of his Godship. By virtue of this old Decree it was, that *Tiberius*, in whose ^f Reign Christianity came into the World, having receiv'd Intelligence from *Judea* about the Miracles of Christ, propos'd it to the Senate, and us'd his Prerogative for getting him enroll'd a-

^d *Vetus erat Decretum ne qui Deus ab Imperatore consecraretur nisi a Senatu probatus.*] *Rigaltius* mentions something like this extant in the Fragments of *Ulpian*, and *Pamelius* gives the Decree it self from *Crinitus* de hon. discipl. lib. 10. c. 3. *Separatim nemo sit habens Deos novos sive Advenas, nisi publice adscitos privatim colunto.* By virtue of this ancient Decree it was, that the People, notwithstanding any Edicts of the Emperors to the contrary, persecuted the Christians. *Vid. Euseb. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.* Where upon the Account given by *Pontius Pilate*, *Tiberius* apply'd to the Senate to make him a God.

^e *De Deo suo Alburno.*] This *Alburnus* is mention'd, *lib. adv. Marcion. c. 18.* and seems to have been consecrated in the Consulship of *M. Æmilius*, *an. urb. cond. 638.* He was called *Alburnus* from a Mountain in *Lucania* of the same Name.

*Est Lucus silari circum, ilicibusq; virentem
Plurimus Alburnum volitans, &c. Virg. Geo. 3.*

^f *Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit.*] This is to be understood of the Resurrection of Christ, when the Christian Faith first began to be publish'd to the Gentile World.

mong the Number of their Gods. The Senate, indeed, refus'd the Proposal, as having not maturely weigh'd his Qualifications for a Deity; but *Cæsar* stood to his Resolution, and issu'd out severe Penalties against all who shou'd accuse the Worshipers of Christ.

Consult your ^g Annals, and there you'll find ^h *Nero* the First Emperor, who dy'd his Sword in Christian Blood, when our Religion was but just a rising at *Rome*; but we glory in being first dedicated to Destruction by such a Monster: For whoever knows that Enemy of all Goodness, will have the greater Value for our Religion, as knowing that *Nero* cou'd hate nothing Exceedingly, but what was Exceedingly good. A long time after, *Domitian*, a Limb of this bloody *Nero*, makes some like Attempts against the Christians; but being not all *Nero*, or Cruelty in Perfection, the Remains of struggling Humanity stopt the Enterprize, and made him recal the Christians he banish'd. The Christian Persecutors have been always Men of this Complexion, divested of Justice, Piety, and common Shame; upon whose Government you your selves have set a

^g *Consulite Commentarios vestros.*] He alludes to the Annals of *Tacitus*, lib. 15. or rather to *Suetonius* in the life of *Nero*.

^h *Cæsariano gladio primum ferecisse.*] 'Tis agreed upon by all Writers, that the first General Persecution began under *Nero*, as likewise, that the second did under *Domitian*; for that in *Judea* and *Samaria*, mention'd in the Acts, cap. 8. was but a particular Persecution in some Parts only, and not set on foot by the Gentiles but the Jews.

Brand, and ⁱ rescinded their Acts, by restoring those whom they condemn'd.

But of all the Emperors down to this present Reign, who understood any thing of Religion or Humanity, name me one who persecuted the Christians. On the contrary we shew you the excellent *M. Aurelius* for our Protector and Patron; for if you look into his ^k Letters, you'll find him there testifying, that his Army in *Germany* being just upon perishing with Thirst, some Christian Soldiers which happen'd to be in his Troops, did by the Powers of Prayer fetch down a prodigious Shower to the Relief of the whole Army; for which the grateful Prince, tho' he could not publicly set aside the Penal Laws, yet he did as well, he publicly render'd them ineffectual another way, by discouraging our Accusers with the last of Punishments, viz. *Burning alive*.

Reflect a little now, I pray you, upon the Nature of these Laws, which only the most consummate Villains in Impiety, Injustice, Filthiness, Folly, and Madness ever put in Execution against us; which Laws

ⁱ *Quos & ipsi damnare consueverunt.*] The Edicts of *Nero* and *Domitian* both were rescinded by the Senate, and *Nerva* their Successor. But the old Law was still in force, which forbade the worshipping of any new God, without the Approbation of the Senate.

^k *Si Literæ Marci Aurelii requirantur.*] This Rescript of *Marcus Aurelius* you will find annex'd to *Justin's* first Apology: And tho' it is disputable whether that Rescript be Genuine, yet 'tis evident beyond dispute, both from *Justin* and *Tertullian*, that there was such a Rescript in favour of the Christians.

¹ *Trajan* in part evacuated by his Edict against searching for Christians; and neither
^m *Hadrian* the Inquisitive, whose Genius no
 doubt

¹ *Quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est.*] 'Tis not without good Reason that *Tertullian* says in *Part evacuated*, for the third Persecution commenc'd under *Trajan*. 'Tis true, indeed, he publish'd no General Edict against the Christians, but the manner of his Answer to *Pliny*, (*vid. Plin. lib. 10. ep. 103. p. 633.* wherein, as *Tertullian* smartly remarks, the Rescript did combat, and contradict it self, in forbidding Christians to be search'd after, and yet punish'd when found,) was abundantly sufficient to rekindle Magistrate and People, who were ready to take Fire upon the least Encouragement against the Christians. Besides, he issued out solemn Edicts to his Officers to suppress all private Cabals and Associations; and this occasion'd fresh Searches after Christians, and prevented their ordinary Assemblies. *Vid. Plin. ep. 35. 99. 123. p. ep. 104. p. 632.* In this Reign, strict Inquisition was made after all the Descendents from *David*, and *Simeon* Bishop of *Jerusalem* was therefore taken up and murder'd. *Euseb. l. 3. c. 32. p. 104.* And tho' this was a very grievous Persecution, yet was it not universal. *Euseb. lib. 3. c. 33. p. 105. c. 32. p. 103.*

^m *Quas nullus Adrianus.*] *Sulpicius Severus*, and he alone, places the Fourth Persecution under *Adrian*. *Vid. Sulp. lib. 2. c. 45. p. 150.* But whatever this Persecution was, it is plain from *Tertullian*, and *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *vid. Euseb. l. 4. cap. 26. p. 148.* that it was not occasion'd by any Imperial Edict. *Adrian* was initiated in all the *Græcian* Rites, and especially in the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, which *St. Jerom* remarks as the principal Cause of this Persecution, *Adr. vit. p. 11.* He was extremely addicted to Judicial Astrology, and to all sorts of Divination, even to Magick, *Dio. lib. 69. p. 793.* insomuch that he is severely censur'd by the Heathens themselves for his extravagant Superstition, *Amm. lib. 25. p. 294.* And if Magick rais'd a Persecution under *Valerianus*, who in the beginning of his Reign was so great a Friend to Christians, and whose Family so abounded with Men of Piety, that his House seem'd to be the Church of God, *Euseb. lib. 7. c. 10.* we need not wonder that this Black Art should have the same Influence upon *Adrian*: But this Persecution was happily put an end to, by the Apologies of *Quadratus* and *Aristides*, *Euseb. lib. 3. c. 37. p. 209.* The Eloquence and Reason of these two Apologists was seconded by a Letter from *Serenius Granianus* Proconsul of *Asia*, *Euseb. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 122.* and many other Governors follow'd this Example, *Euseb. lib. 4. c. 13. p. 127.* *Adrian* unable to resist these just and pressing Solicitations, wrote to *Minucius Fundanus*, *Granianus's* Successor,
 not

doubt led him into the Curiosities of our Religion, nor ⁿ *Vespasian*, who must know something of it too by conquering the Jews, nor ^o *Pius*, nor ^p *Verns* ever took the Advantage of the Laws against us; and therefore were we Christians, in truth, the worst of Men, you cannot think we shou'd have been thus

not to punish a Christian but upon good Proof of some Crime against the Publick; and to punish the False Accuser just as the Christian shou'd have been, had he been found guilty. This Rescript was very famous among the Ancients, it is celebrated as very advantageous to the Christian Cause, not only by *Eusebius* in his *Chronic.* but by *S. Severus*, lib. 2. c. 45. p. 150. by *Orosius* lib. 7. c. 12. and annex'd by *Justin* to his Apology, and translated into Greek by *Eusebius* lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 123.

▪ *Nullus Vespasianus.*] Vid. Joseph. de bell. Jud. lib. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

◦ *Nullus Pius.*] This was *Antoninus*, to whom *Justin Martyr* addresses his First Apology, and whose Rescript to the Commons of *Asia* he annexes to it, and is translated into Greek by *Eusebius*, lib. c. 13. And tho' there was no Edict of *Pius* out against the Christians, yet by the Authority of the old Decree, they suffer'd very much in many Places, which occasion'd *Justin's* First Apology.

◦ *Nullus Verns.*] 'Tis a matter of some Difficulty to determine who this Emperor was, for the Cognomen *Verns* was given to *M. Aurelius* as well as to *Lucius*. Vid. *Jul. Capitol. in vit. M. Aurelii*. But 'tis most probable that *M. Aurelius* was the Emperor, especially if *Lucius Verns* was dead before the Persecution, as some imagin, *Nicephor. lib. 3. cap. 14*. And it is observable, that *Athenagoras* dedicates his Apology to *M. Aurelius* and *Lu. Commodus*, and not to *Lucius Verns*. However this be, certain it is, that this was a most bloody Persecution, in which *Polycarp*, and *Justin*, and the Martyrs of *Vienna* and *Lyons* were put to death; the Reading of the Prophets, and the Sybils, and what ever else might serve the Christian Cause was forbid, says *Justin*, upon pain of Death, *Ap. 1. Sect. 59*. This is counted the Fourth Persecution by all but *S. Severus*, who calls it the Fifth. But then it is observ'd by *Eusebius*, lib. 5. cap. 1. That it was set on foot, not by any Edict of *Aurelius*, but by popular Tumult. If we read *Severus* instead of *Verns*, as *Pamelius* is most inclin'd to, then is it evident, that when this Apology was written *Severus*, had issu'd out no Edict against the Christians,

spar'd and protected against Law, by the best of Princes, and struck at Root and Branch, only by our Brethren in Iniquity.

C H A P. VI.

That the Romans are mighty Praisers of the Antiquity of their Religion, and yet admit of Novelties into it every Day.

BUT now I wou'd argue the Case a little with these scrupulous Gentlemen, who are such mighty Sticklers for the Observation of old Laws; I wou'd know, whether They themselves have religiously adher'd to their Forefathers in ev'ry thing, whether they quitted no Law, nor have gone one step out of the ancient way. Nay, whether they have not made ineffectual some of the most necessary and proper Rules of Government; if not, what is become of those excellent Laws for the bridling Luxury and Ambition? Those Laws which allow'd not above a ⁿ Noble for

^a *Centum era non amplius.*] This was the *Lex Licinia vel Fannia* called *Centussis*, according to that of *Lucilius*, *Fanni Centussisque misellos*, *Vid. A. Gell. l. 2. c. 24.* To what *Zephrinus* in his *Paraphrase*, and *Pamelius* in his *Notes* have said concerning the *Sump- tuary Laws*; and against *Canvassing for Places*. I add, that *C. Orchius* the third Year before *Cato* was *Censor*, preferred a Law to moderate the Number of Guests only. Twenty two Years after, *C. Fannius* being *Consul*, enacted another for moderating the Expences of ordinary

for an Entertainment, and but one Hen, and that not a cram'd one, for a Supper. Those Laws which excluded a Senator the House, as a Man of ambitious Designs, for having but ten Pound weight of Silver Plate in his Family; which levell'd the ^r rising Theatres to the Ground immediately, as Seminaries only of Lewdness and Immorality; and which under severe Penalties forbad the Commons to usurp the Badges and Distinctions of the Nobility. But now I see enormous Entertainments, with new Names from their Extravagance; a *Centenarian* Supper, so call'd from the hundred Sestertios expended on it, *that is about seven hundred eighty one Pounds five Shillings for a Meal*; and I see Mines of Silver melted into Dishes, not for the Table of Senators only, for that would be tolerable, but for such Fellows as are but just made Free, and hardly out of the Lash of Slavery. I see also Theatres in ^r abundance, and all indulgently

ordinary Feasts, allowing not more *denis Assibus*. *Licinius Crassus* reviv'd the *Fannian* Law. The *Lex Cornelia*, and the *Lex Antia* were to the same purposes of Frugality. Whosoever desires to see more *de Legibus Sumptuariis & de Ambitu*, may read *Stuc. conviv.* lib. 1. c. 3. *A. Gell.* 1. 2. c. 24. *Macrob. Saturn.* 1. 3. c. 17. *Alex. ab. Alexan. Genial. Di.* lib. 3. c. 2. p. 685. *Tom. I.* and likewise cap. 17. p. 755.

[*Theatra stuprandis moribus orientia statim destruebant.*] *P. Cornius Nasica* after the second *Punic* War demolish'd the Theatre as the School of Wickedness and Effeminacy. *Vid. Alexand. ab Alex.* *Tom. I.* lib. 4. cap. 25. p. 1193.

* *Video Theatra nec singula satis esse.*] In the time of *Augustus* there were but three Theatres, and one Amphitheatre; but as they grew in Vices, they increas'd in Theatres; and then we read of the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and one of *Scaurus* so capacious, that *Pliny* affirms it large enough to hold 80000 Men. *Plin. lib. 36.* c. 15. Concerning the Number of Theatres *vid. Just. Lipsii Amphitheatrum, & Tertull. de Spectac. & Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 3.*

cover'd

cover'd over. The hardy *Lacedemonians*, I suppose were the first Authors of this soft Invention; for fear *Venus* shou'd take cold in the Winter without a Covering; and that odious heavy Cloak of Frieze, which in time of War was to screen the *Spartans* from the Injuries of Weather, was chiefly design'd no doubt to defend the *Romans* at the Enjoyment of their Sports. Moreover, I see now no Difference in Habit, between a Lady of ^t Quality, and a common Strumpet; all those wise Institutions about Women are fallen to the Ground, wherein your Ancestors made such Provisions for Modesty and Temperance; when a Woman was to wear no more Gold about her than the Wedding ^v Ring upon her Finger: When
 Women

* *Inter Matronas atque Prostibulas nullum de habitu discrimen.*] The *Stola*, *Flammeum*, *Vitta*, & *Reticulum*, were the Distinctions of Matrons of Repute, from Prostitutes who had the *Toga*, and were not allow'd the *Flammeum* and *Vitta*. More of this you may see in *Alex. ab Alexand.* Tom. II. lib. 5. p. 216.

† *Cum aurum nulla novat præter unico digito quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo annulo.*] The Ring in Matrimony has been a very general and ancient Ceremony; *Digito pignus fortasse dedisti, Juven. sat. 6.* This nuptial Ring was put upon the Finger next the least, on the left Hand, out of an Imagination that there was a particular Vein there which went directly to the bottom of the Heart. *Aul. Gell. l. 10. c. 10. Macrob. lib. 7. c. 13.* And this, I suppose, may be the *Unicus Digitus* in *Tertullian*. The Primitive Christians made no Scruple of complying with this ancient Ceremony of the Ring in Matrimony, for says *Tertullian de Idol. de nullius Idoli honore descendit*, it did not arise from any Honour given to an Idol: And *Clemens Alexandrinus* sets forth, not only the Rite, but the Reason of it, *Clem. Alex. Pad. l. 3. c. 2.* *St. Ambrose* brings in *St. Agnes*, mentioning the Wedding-Ring. *Amb. lib. 4. Ep. 34.* In the Year 611. *Isidore Hispalensis Etymol. l. 20. & de devin. Off. l. 2.* proves it to be in use, and all the Offices of the Western Churches since that time prove the same. As to the Greek Churches, we find
 by

Women were so strictly prohibited the use of Wine, that a * Matron was starv'd to Death by her Friends for breaking the Seals of a Cellar where the Wine was kept; and *Mecenius* in the Reign of *Romulus* was acquitted for killing his Wife for the same Attempt: And for the same Reason, Parents were by Law oblig'd to kiss their Children, in order to discover 'em by their Breath. Where is now the Happiness of a Conjugal State, maintain'd of old by rugged Virtue, in so long and perfect Harmony, that from the Foundation of the City for almost six ^y hundred Years together,

by the Eucologion, that they us'd two Rings, one of Gold, which was given to the Man, another of Silver, which was given to the Woman. *Vid. ord. Sponsalior.* And therefore it was not without good Authority that our wise Reformers did retain this innocent, ancient Ceremony, approved of even by *Bucer* himself, *Buceri censur.* p. 48.

* *Cum mulieres usque adeo vino abstinerentur, ut matronam ob resignatos cellæ vinaria loculos sui inedia necarint.*] This Story, and almost the very words, are taken out of *Pliny's* natural History, *lib. 14. cap. 13.* where he says likewise that *Egnatius Metellus* (here called *Mecenius*) killed his Wife with a Club for drinking Wine. The drinking of Wine was interdicted Women under the severest Penalty. *Vid. Donyf. Halicarn. lib. 2. Polyb. lib. 6. Cicer. lib. de nat. Deor.* It was as capital a Crime for a Woman to be taken in Wine, as in Adultery. It was by the Law of *Romulus* made one of the Conditions for a Divorce. *Cneus Domitius* depriv'd a Woman of her Dowry for drinking more liberally than her Health requir'd. The Law mention'd here by *Tertullian*, which oblig'd Relations to salute Women to find whether they did not smell of Wine, was overrul'd by an Edict of *Tiberius Cæsar*. *Vid. Sueton. vit. Tiber.* See more to this purpose in *Alexand. ab Alex. Tom. I. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 672. and 673.*

^y *Per annos ferme sexcentos ab urbe conditâ, nulla repudium domus scripsit.*] *P. Carvilius Ruga*, or *Spurius Carbilus*, as he is called by *Valer. Maximus*, *lib. 2. c. 1.* was the First who divorced his Wife upon Pretence of Barrenness, tho' Divorces afterwards upon the most trifling Occasions came to be a common Practice. *L. Antonius* was noted by the Censors, and turned out of the Senate for putting

together we read not of a Divorce in any Family? But now instead of wedding-Rings only, Women are so begolded over, that ev'ry Limb labours under the Burthen; and so addicted to Wine, that you shall not receive a Salute without a Smack of the Bottle: and Divorces are now become the Object of your Desires, and look'd upon as the constant Fruit of Matrimony. But this is not all, for what your Fathers have gravely decreed, even about the Worship of the Gods, you with all your Obedience have rescinded. The Consuls with the Authority of the Senate banish'd Father ^z *Bacchus* and his Mysteries, not out of *Rome* only, but all *Italy*, and ^a *Serapis*, and *Isis*,

putting away his Wife upon no Reason but his Humour. *Vid. Val. Max. lib. 2. cap. 4.* *Tiberius Caesar* degraded a Censor upon the like occasion, *Sueton. in vit. Tib. Q. Antistius* and *C. Sulpitius*, divorced their Wives merely upon a Pett, *Val. Max. l. 6. cap. 3.* And *Mecenas* is severely tax'd by *Seneca* upon the like Occasion, *Sen. lib. de Divin. Provid.* So that 'tis not without Reason that *Tertullian* affirms Divorces in his time to be the constant Fruit of Matrimony. By the Laws of *Romulus* a Man cou'd not divorce his Wife, but either for Adultery, for attempting to Poison him, for false Keys, or for drinking of Wine. The Form of Divorces between Parties only contracted, was in these words—*Conditione tuâ non utar.* This was properly *Repudium*; that between a married Couple was called *Divortium*, and ran in this Form—*Res tuas tibi habeto.*

^z *Liberum Patrem cum mysteriis suis.*] The *Bacchanalia* or *Nyctileia* grew to that excessive Lewdness, that they were forbid in all parts of *Italy* under a severe Penalty. *Vid. Alex. ab Alex. Tom. I. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 650:*

^a *Serapidem & Isidem, & Harpocratem cum suo Cynocephalo, &c.*] *Seraphis* and *Isis* were celebrated Idols of *Egypt*. *Harpocrates* is said to be born of *Isis* and *Osiris*, and coming unluckily before his time, was born mute, and for that Reason made the God of Silence, according to that of *Ovid*—*Quique premit vocem, digitq; silentia*

Ifts, and *Harpocrates*, with his Dogs-head of a God *Cynocephalus*, were excluded the Capitol, the Palace of your Deities, during the Consulship of *Piso* and *Gabinus*, who were not Christians, and all their Altars levell'd to the Ground, in order to suppress this Rabble of Deities, and the abominable Filthineffes attending on 'em; but these Gods you have recall'd from Banishment, and restor'd them to their original Worship. Where now is your old Religion, and the great Veneration you pretend to have for your Ancestors? You have degenerated from them in your Habit, in your Modes of Living, in your ^b Furniture, and in the Riches and Revenues you allow to the different Ranks of Men, and in the very Delicacy of your Language. You are eternal Praisers of Antiquity, and yet every Day in a new Fashion; which is a plain Proof, that 'tis your peculiar Talent to be in the wrong, to forsake your Ancestors where you shou'd follow, and to follow where you shou'd forsake 'em. And altho' you may take your selves for zealous Defenders of the Traditions of your Fathers, especially in those things for the Neglect of

Silentia suadet. *Cynocephalus*, was an Egyptian God with a Dog's Head, under which Shape *Mercury* is said to have been worshipped, according to that of *Virgil*, *Ænead.* 8. *Omnigenumq; Deum monstra, & Latrator Anubis.* See more of this and their Expulsion out of Italy in *Alex. ab. Alex. Tom. I. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 431.*

^b *Censu.*] I conclude this Word shou'd be written with a *C*, and I have translated it accordingly; but if it is to be written with an *S*, as it is both in *Rigaltius* and *Pamelius*, I wou'd translate it *Opinion*; but *Rigaltius* in his *Animadversions* has corrected his Text, and writes *Censu. Vide Rigal. Animadver. juxta fin.*

which

which you principally accuse the Christians, namely, the Worship of the Gods, in which Point your Ancestors have been the most unhappily mistaken; altho' you have rebuilt the Altars of *Serapis*, and made him now a Roman God; altho' *Bacchus* now has his frantick Sacrifices offer'd him in *Italy*; notwithstanding all this, I say, I will shew in its proper place, that you have not in truth this warm Affection for the Gods of your Forefathers, but that you have despis'd, slighted and destroy'd them, in spite of all your loud Pretences to the Obligations of Antiquity. In the mean time, I shall return an Answer to those infamous Objections against our Actions in Secret, in order to make way for the Vindication of those things we do in the Face of the World.

C H A P. VII.

That common Fame is but an ill Evidence.

TIS the common Talk, that we are the wickedest of Men, that we ^c murder

^c *Dicimur sceleratissimi de Sacramento Infanticidii, &c.*] That this Charge of devouring a Child in the Sacrament was by the Heathens commonly laid upon the Christians is evident, because *Justin*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Minutius*, and the rest of the Apologists insist so much upon it. The Nature of the Institution, and the Practice of *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Basilides*, *Carpocrates*, and other Hereticks, who pass'd under the Name of Christians, most probably gave Rise to this horrid Story, as I have shewn at large in my Notes upon *Justin's* Apology.

and eat a Child in our Religious Assemblies, and when we rise from Supper conclude all in the Confusions of Incest. 'Tis reported likewise, that for this Work, we have an odd sort of Dogs, as officious as Bawds in putting out the Candles, Procurers of Darknes for the freer Satisfactions of our impious and shameless Lust. This is the common Talk, and the Report is of long standing, and yet not a Man attempts to prove the Truth of the Fact. Either therefore, if you believe Report, examine the Grounds, or if you will not examine, give no Credit to the Report: And this dissembled Carelessness of yours against being better inform'd, plainly speaks, that you your selves believe nothing of it; you seem to care not to examine; only in truth because you dare not; for were you of opinion, that these Reports were true, you wou'd never give such Orders as you do about the Torturing of Christians; which you prescribe, not to make 'em confess the Actions of their Life, but only to deny the Religion they profess. But the Christian Religion, as I have already intimated, began to spread in the Reign of *Tiberius*; and the Truth pull'd down a World of Hatred in its very Cradle: For it had as many Enemies as Men without the Pale of Revelation, and even those within, the very Jews, the most implacable of any, out of a blind Passion for the Law. The Soldiers from dragooning our Persons, come to hate our Religion, and from a Baseness of Spirit, our very Domesticks are as much bent upon
our

our Destruction as they. Thus are we continually invested on every side, and continually betray'd, nay, very often we are surpriz'd and taken in our publick Meetings and Assemblies; and yet did ever any one come upon us, when the ^d Infant was crying under the Sacrificer's Hand. Who ever catch'd us, like a *Cyclops* or *Siren*, with Mouths besmeared in humane Blood, and carry'd us in that cruel Pickle before a Judge? And as for Incest, Who ever discover'd any Relick of Immodesty in his Wife, after she became a Christian? And who can think that a Heathen wou'd connive at Wickednesses of this monstrous Size in any Christian, had he Eyes to spy them out? or that he can be brib'd in our Favour, who seems never so well pleas'd as when he is haling us to Punishment? If you say, that these Abominations are always done in Secret, pray when, and by whom came you to this Knowledge? not by the Guilty themselves, for you know that the Persons admitted into the Mysteries of all Religions, are by the very ^e Form of Admission

^d *Quis unquam taliter vagienti Infanti supervenit.*] The Christian Sacrifice of Bread and Wine was never omitted in the first Ages of the Church in their publick Worship; they look'd upon their Service as not so perfectly Christian and acceptable without it, that the Holy Spirit did in an especial manner descend upon the Consecrated Elements, that God was better pleas'd with their Prayers for this Commemoration of his Son, and that this was the Principle of Union between a Christian and the ever Blessed Trinity; and therefore whenever the Heathens broke into their Assemblies they wou'd be sure to find this Sacrifice of a Child was there any such thing.

^e *Ex Formâ omnibus Mysteriis silentii Fides debeatur.*] What Silence was thought due to sacred Rites, we may understand by *Horace's* — *Favete linguis*, by *Ovid's* — *Ore favent Populi illunc cum venis*

Admission under the severest Obligations to Secrefie; the *Samothracian* and ^f *Eleusinian* Myſteries you know are cover'd in profound Silence, how much more reasonable is it therefore to think, that ſuch as theſe will be kept in the dark, which not only treasure up divine Wrath againſt the Day of Judgement, but if once discover'd, will whet humane Juſtice to the higheſt Pitch of Vengeance? If therefore Chriſtians betray not themſelves, it follows, that they muſt be betray'd by thoſe of another Religion; but how ſhall Strangers be able to inform againſt us, when even the moſt pious & Myſteries are defended from the Approaches

venit aurea Pompa; by *Virgil's* — *Fida Silentia Sacris*; by *Festus's* — *Linquam paſcito, i. e. coerceto*; by the *Egyptians* ſetting up the Image of *Harpocrates* in the entrance of their Temples, and by the *Romans* placing the Statue of *Angerona* on the Altar of *Voluptas*. *Vid. Briſſon. de Formulis, lib. 1. p. 8.*

^f *Eleuſinia reticentur.*] *Horace* proteſts that he wou'd not ſtay in the Houſe, or ſail in the Ship, with a Perſon that ſhou'd divulge the Myſteries of *Ceres* —

*Vetabo, qui Cereris ſacrum
Vulgârit arcana, ſub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaſelum.*

Alcibiades and his Companions for expoſing the Rites of *Ceres*, were not only excommunicated all religious and civil Intercourſe at *Athens*, but ſolemnly curſ'd by the Priests and Prieſteſſes; a Practice not unlike to the *Jewiſh Anathema*. *Vid. Plutar. Alcibiad.*

^f *Cum etiam pie Initiationes arceant Prophanos.*] I know nothing more practis'd all the Heathen World over, than the excommunicating prophane Perſons from all holy Myſteries. Hence that of *Virgil* —

*Procul, ô procul eſte Prophani
Conclamat Vates* —

And that of *Horace* alſo.

*Odi Prophanum
Vulgus & arceo.*

Approaches of the Stranger, and the Profane? unless you conclude the Christian Rites to be the wickedest of any, and withal conclude that the Wicked are less cautious about the divulging of such Rites, than those of a better Religion. And thus you must be forc'd to acknowledge, you know nothing of our Profession, but by common Fame; and the Nature of Fame is too well known by ev'ry one to be credited in haste. Your own *Virgil* tells you, *Fama malum, quo non aliud velocius ullum. Fame is an Ill, the swiftest Ill that flies.*

The *Flamens* had a *Commentaculum*, a kind of Rod in their Hands to keep off impure Persons. *Vid. Briffon. de formulis, lib. 1. Selden. de Syned. l. 1. cap. 10.* And among the Greeks that old Form from *Orpheus* continu'd, — ἕκας ἕκας ἔσε βέβηλοι. At Athens the Herald cry'd out τὴς τῆδε. *Who is here?* To which the People answer'd, πολλοὶ καὶ ἀσάθει, *Many and good Men.* *Vid. Suid. in τὴς τῆδε.* And we read in *Livy, Decad. 4. lib. 1.* of two young Men of *A-carnania*, who for not being Initiated, and crowding into the *Eleu-sinian Mysteries* were slain; for it was a capital Crime to be present without due Purification; and such purifying Rites were Men of all Ranks and Qualities oblig'd to perform before they cou'd approach the Altars and Statues. Nor *Nero* himself cou'd prevail with his Conscience to let him be present at these Rites of *Ceres*, after the Herald had made the usual Proclamation for the Wicked to depart. *Vid. Sueton. Ner. c. 34.* But *Antoninus the Philo-sopher*, to shew his innocence, went to the Temple of *Ceres*, and into the very *Sacrarium* by himself. *Vid. Capitolin. in vit. Antonin. Philos.* And was there but a little more of the natural Reverence of *Heathens* to holy things among *Christian* People, and did *Christian* Priests exert the Power that God has given them with as much Vigour as the *Idol* Priests did, Men even as wicked as *Nero*, wou'd not dare to approach our Altars merely upon the Invitation of a Place. But as matters stand, it might go hard with the Priest to make a notorious Offender lose his Preferment, by refusing him the Sacrament, and the Common Law might go near to nail the Canon.

Why does he call Fame an Ill? because of her Swiftneſs? or because ſhe's an Informer? or because ſhe's a common Lier? For the laſt Reason without queſtion. For ſhe never lets even Truth come out of her Mouth, without being ſophiſticated, without detracting, adding, or brewing it with one Falſhood or another. Moreover, the Nature of Fame is ſuch, that ſhe cannot keep her ſelf upon the Wing without the Aſſiſtance of Lies; for ſhe lives by not proving; when ſhe proves, ſhe deſtroys her Being. She hovers no longer like Fame, but being as it were out of her Office, Certainty ſucceeds in the Place of Report. And then 'tis no longer ſaid, for Example, that ſuch a thing is ſam'd to have been acted at *Rome*, or ſuch a Perſon to have got the Government of ſuch a Province, but that ſuch things are actually ſo and ſo. Fame is a doubtful Sound, and lodges only among Uncertainties; and wou'd ever any Man of common Reflection build much upon this uncertain Puff? For let a Story be never ſo general and diffuſive, and never ſo confidently aſſerted, 'tis always to be remember'd that it had a Beginning, and from that time has crept into a world of Ears, and out of a world of Mouths; and ſo the Story very little at its firſt Planting, and naughty perhaps in the very ſeed, comes at length to be ſo overgrown and darkned by variety of Rumours, that Men care not to be at the Pains of tracing it up to the original Mouth, and to ſee whether

it came not first into the Wolrd a very Lye; which often happens, either from the Disposition and Genius of Hatred, or the Licence Men usurp of improving Suspicions, or which is no new thing, the very Pleasure of Lying, which some People seem marvellously turn'd for, even by Nature.

Well is it therefore I am sure for Christians, what is so proverbially in the Mouth of Heathens, That Time brings ev'ry thing to Light, according to that Order of Nature, which will permit nothing to lye long hid; no, not even that which never came within the Lips of Fame. I shall leave it to you therefore to judge, whether you have Reason to proceed with this Severity against Christians, merely upon the Testimony of Fame; for this is the only Witness you produce against us, and which looks so much the worse, because of all the Stories she has been sowing about the World, and been so long a watering and nourishing up into Credit, she has not to this Day been able to prove one.

C H A P. VIII.

That the Crimes charg'd upon the Christians are neither possible nor probable.

I shall now appeal to the Testimony of Nature, and argue whether 'tis credible, that she is capable of such Inhumanities, as common Fame charges upon Christians; and for Argument sake, I will suppose a Christian promising you eternal Life, and tying Caution for the Performance, upon Consideration of your Obedience. I will suppose likewise, that you believe this Promise, and the Question now is, whether upon such a Belief, you could find in your Hearts to be barbarous enough in spite of Nature to accept of eternal Life at this inhuman Price. Imagin therefore a Christian addressing you in this manner. --- Come hither, Friend, and plunge your Dagger into the Heart of this Innocent, who can deserve no Punishment, who can be no Man's Foe, and who may be ev'ry Man's Son, considering our indiscriminate Embraces. Or if another is to officiate in this bloody Service, suppose your self apply'd to after this sort, — Come hither, and stand by only while I make the Sacrifice: Behold me dispatching an Infant off the Stage in the very first Act of Life: See me sending the new Soul flying out of the Body before it was well in: Do you gather

up the rude indigested Blood, and sop your Bread liberally in that Wine, and indulge freely upon the Flesh; and while you are at Supper, be sure to cast a wishful Eye upon your Mother and Sister; mark exactly where they sit, that you are Guilty of no Mistake, when the Dogs have put out the Candles. For 'tis as much as our Immortality is worth, if you shou'd miss of Incest; if you are thus initiated, and continue firm in the practice of these Rules, you shall live for ever. Answer me now to the Question propos'd, can you purchase Heaven upon these Terms? If not, if you feel Nature recoil, and your Soul shrink at the Proposal of such things, you can never think them credible in us. Did you but believe them, I am confident you wou'd not do them; but did you believe them, and had an Inclination to do them, I am of opinion, that your very Humanity wou'd not suffer you to perpetrate such Facts: And if you find too many Misgivings in your selves for the performance of such Commands, why don't you conclude the same Reluctance in others? Or if you cannot be unnatural enough for these things, why shou'd you judge others can?

But Christians, I suppose, are not Men: What! do you take us for Monsters, like the *Cynopæ* or *Sciapodes* with different Rows of

^a The *Cynopæ*, or *Cynopes*, or *Cynocephali*, are reported to be a Sort of wild Men in the Mountains of *India* with Heads like a Dog. *Plin.* 7. 2. and the *Sciapodes* of *Æthiopia* to be a People of such a monstrous Make, that in hot broiling Days lye upon their Backs, and cover their whole Bodies from the Sun with the Shadow of the Bottoms of their Feet. *Plin.* 7. 1.

Teeth for devouring, and different Instruments for Incest, from all other Men? Certainly, if you believe such Actions possible for others, you may believe 'em possible for your selves, you being Men, as we Christians are: But if you feel this impossible in Nature, you ought to give no Credit to the Report, because Christians and Heathens have the same Humanity.

But you pretend, that the Ignorant only are decoy'd and trick'd into our Religion, such as have not met with any of these Stories against us, but are catch'd before they have time to consider and examin with that accuracy which every Man is oblig'd to, upon changing his Religion. But allowing it possible for a Man to be ignorant of common Fame, yet if any one is desirous to be initiated, 'tis the constant Custom, as I take it, for such a Person to go to the Chief Priest, to be instructed in what is necessary for such an Initiation. And then if these Stories are true, he'll instruct him in this manner. Friend, in order to communicate with us, you must provide a Child tender and good, too young for any Sence or Notice of Death; such a Child as will smile in my Face under the fatal Knife: You are likewise to provide Bread to suck up the Blood, and Candlesticks and Candles, and some Dogs with some Morfels to throw to those Dogs just out of their reach, that by striving to come at 'em, they may pull down the Candles and Candlesticks to which they are ty'd: Above all things you must be sure not to come without your Mother and Sister. But

what if they will not comply, or suppose the Convert has no Sister or Mother, nor any Relation of our Religion. Why, he cannot be admitted; for to have a Sister or a Mother are necessary Qualifications no doubt to make a Christian. But if you'll suppose all this Furniture got ready before Hand, without the Knowledge of him who is to communicate; yet certainly after he has communicated he must needs know all; and yet he still continues firm in our Communion without a word of the Imposture. But he dares not discover perhaps, for fear of Punishment, when such a Discovery wou'd be meritorious. Whereas a Man of Probity, after he had found himself thus abus'd and trick'd into so horrid a Religion, wou'd rather choose to die, than live longer with such a Conscience. After all, I will grant that such a Man dares not discover for fear of Punishment, but pray then give me a Reason, why the same Person shou'd persevere in defiance of Torments; for I think it natural to conclude, that you wou'd not continually stick close to a Religion under such Disadvantages, which you wou'd never have embrac'd, had you but known it before you embrac'd it.

C H A P. IX.

That the Pagans are guilty both in private and publick of the same Crimes they charge upon Christians.

BUT for a fuller Confutation, I come now to prove that the Heathens are guilty both in the Dark, and in the Face of the Sun, of acting the same Abominations they charge upon Christians, and their own Guiltiness, perhaps, is the very thing which disposes 'em to believe the like of others. ⁱ Infants have been sacrific'd to *Saturn* publickly in *Africa*, even to the Proconsulship of *Tiberius*, who devoted the very Trees about *Saturn's*

ⁱ *Infantes penes Africam Saturno palam immolabantur, &c.*] The Heathens had a Notion (however they came by it is not to my present purpose to conjecture) that Repentance alone was not sufficient to atone the Divine Wrath without a bloody Sacrifice, and therefore the Blood of Man and Beast was brought in to supply the Deficiency. Accordingly among the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* it had been an ancient Custom to choose by Lot some Children of the best Quality for a Sacrifice, and for those upon whom the Lot fell, there was no Redemption. And they were likewise dress'd according to their Quality in the richest Apparel to make the Sacrifice more splendid. And having omitted these human Sacrifices for some time, and during that Omission, being overcome by *Agathocles*, they offer'd two hundred Sons of the Nobility upon their Altars to atone the Deity for the Neglect of human Sacrifices. *Vid. Plat. dial. entitled Minos, Dionys. Halicar. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Laëtan. lib. 1. c. 21. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 4. and Silius Ital. at the end of the 4th Book speaks thus of Carthage.*

*Mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena Dido
(Infandum dictu) Parvos imponere natos, &c.*

Temple,

Temple, to be Gibbets for his Priests, as Accomplices in the Murther, for contributing the Protection of their Shadow to such wicked Practices. For the Truth of this, I appeal to the Militia of my own Country, who serv'd the Proconsul in the Execution of this Order. But these Abominations are continued to this Day in private. Thus you see, that the Christians are not the only Men who act in defiance of your Laws; nor can all your Severity pull up this Wickedness by the Roots, nor will your Immortal alter his abominable Worship upon any Consideration; for since *Saturn* cou'd find in his Heart to eat up his own Children, you may be sure he wou'd continue his Stomach for those of other People, who are oblig'd to bring their own Babes, and sacrifice 'em with their own Hands, giving 'em the tenderest of Words, when they are just upon cutting their Throats; not out of any Bowels of Compassion, but for fear they should unhallow the Mystery, and spoil the Sacrifice with Tears. And now in my Opinion, this Parricide of yours, or slaughtering your own Children, outdoes the simple Homicide charg'd upon us, by many Degrees of Barbarity. But Infants are not the only Offerings, for the *Gauls* cut a Man to pieces upon the Altars of

^a *Major etas apud Gallos Mercurio profecatur.*] Cicero in *Orat. pro M. Fonteio*, speaking of the Gauls has these words, — *Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolatorum?* And in his 3d Book *de Divinat.* he Mentions five *Mercuries*, and makes *Mercury Theutates* the fifth, who slew *Argos*, and for that flew into *Egypt*, and there instructed

of *Mercury*, in the Flower of his Strength. I omit the human Sacrifices at ¹ *Diana's* Temple in *Taurica Cherronesus*, which are the Arguments of your Tragedies, and which you seem to countenance by being so often at the Theatres. But behold ! in that most religious City of the pious Descendants of pious *Æneas*, there is a certain ^m *Jupiter*, whom at your religious Games you propitiate with human Blood in abundance. But these, say you, are *Bestiarian* Men, Criminals already condemn'd to die by Beasts. 'Las-aday ! These are not Men, I warrant ye, because they are condemn'd Men ; and are not your Gods wonderfully beholden to you for offering to 'em such vile Fellows ? However that be, this is certain, it is human Blood. O brave Christian *Jove* ! Your Father's only Son and Heir in Cruelty, worship'd with human Blood, as the God of

structed the *Egyptians* in Laws and Letters, from which *Theutates* the first Month of their Year, that is *September*, was called *Theuth*. This was the *Mercury* the *Gauls* sacrifice to, and which *Lucan* in his first Book refers to.

*Ex quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Theutates, horrensque feris Altaribus Hesus.*

See more in *Laëtantius* l. 1. Sect. 21. 50. Liv. 3. dec. lib. 6. *Cæsar*, lib. 6. de bell. Gall.

¹ *Remitto Tauricas Fabulas.*] *Herodotus* in his 4th Book, says it was a Custom among the *Tauri* to sacrifice every Year the hundredth Captive to *Diana* ; and *Lucan* having spoken of *Theutates* and *Hesus*, adds —

Et Iaranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Diana.

See *P. Orosius* in his Preface to his 5th Book, and *Laëtan.* lib. 1. Sect. 21. p. 50. concerning the bloody Rite of sacrificing Strangers to *Diana Taurica*.

^m *Jupiter quidam.*] *Vid. Laëtan.* lib. 1. Sect. 21. p. 50. This was *Jupiter Latiaris*.

the

the Christians is falsely reported to be. But because, if you kill a Child, it is not a farthing difference whether you kill it for a Sacrifice, or for your own Will (for killing a Child will be always a Crime, tho' not always equal, Parricide being worse than mere Homicide) since this, I say, is so, I shall now apply my self upon this Subject unto the People of all Ranks and Conditions. How many about me might I justly reproach upon this Head, not only of the Mob continually blooded with Christians, and continually gaping for more, but also of you Presidents of Cities and Provinces, who have been the severest against us upon this very score? How many, I say, of both sorts, might I deservedly charge with Infant-murder? And not only so, but among the different Kinds of Death, for choosing some of the cruellest for their own Children, such as drowning, or starving with Cold or Hunger, or exposing to the Mercy of Dogs; dying by the Sword being too sweet a Death for Children, and such as a Man wou'd choose to fall by, sooner than by any other ways of Violence.

But Christians now are so far from Homicide, that with them 'tis utterly unlawful to make away a Child in the Womb, when Nature is in deliberation about the Man; for to kill a Child before it is born, is to commit Murder by way of Advance; and there is no difference, whether you destroy a Child in its Formation, or after it is form'd, and deliver'd. For we Christians look upon
him

him as a Man, who is one in Embrio; for he is in Being, like the Fruit in Blossom, and in a little time wou'd have been a perfect Man, had Nature met with no Disturbance.

As for the inhuman Customs of banquetting upon Blood, and such tragical Dishes, you may read (for 'tis related by ⁿ *Herodotus* I think) how that certain Nations having open'd a Vein in their Arms, solemnly drank of each others Blood for the Confirmation of Treaties; and something like this ^o *Catiline* put in Practice in his Conspiracy. 'Tis likewise reported, that in some ^p *Scythian* Families the

ⁿ *Est apud Herodotum opinor, &c.] Herodotus* in his First Book reports, that it was the solemn way among the *Medes* and *Lydians* in making of Leagues to strike each other on the Shoulders with a naked Sword, and then for the Parties mutually to lick up the Blood; and in his fourth Book he tells us, that the *Scythian* Rite of entering into League, was to fill a large Cup of Blood and Wine mix'd together, (the Blood of both the Parties confederating) and having dipped their Swords and Arrows into it, to pledge each other in it, and so by turns drink it off. And *Possidonius*, and from him *Athenæus lib. 2. cap. 2.* relates, that the *Germans* at their Banquets open'd a Vein in their Face, and the Parties mutually drinking up each other's Blood, mix'd with Wine, was the Ratification of the Treaty. So much Human Blood was there spilt, especially in sacrificing to Devils, till Christ came and redeem'd us from the Powers of Darkness, and put an end to all bloody Sacrifices, by that of himself once made upon the Cross.

^o *Nescio quid & sub Catilina degustatum est.] The Words of Salust concerning Cataline are these ———— Fuere ea Tempestate, qui dicerent Catilinam oratione habitâ, cum ad iurjurandum Populares sceleris sui addiceret, Humani Corporis sanguinem vino permistum in pateris circumtulisse; inde cum post execrationem omnes degustassent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, dicitur aperuisse consilium, &c.* I have set down this of *Salust* at large, because as it stands in the Notes of *Pameli*, it is printed or quoted false in two Places, and the last part quite omitted, which shews it to be a customary Rite in some Countries.

^p *Apud quosdam gentiles Scytharum.] Vid. Alex. ab Alex. Tom. 1. lib. 3. c. 2.* And the Notes of *Tiraquell* upon him.

surviving

surviving Friends eat up the dead ones. But I need not go so far as *Scythia*, for we have now at this Day as barbarous Ceremonies at home; ¹ *Bellona's* Priests lancing their Thighs, and taking up their own sacred Blood in the Palms of their Hands, and giving it their Communicants to drink. Those Epileptick Persons also who flock to the Amphitheatres for the Cure of their Disease, intercept the reeking Blood as it comes gushing from the Gladiator's Throats, and swill it off with Greediness. What shall we say of those who gorge themselves with the Beasts they kill upon the Stage, who demand a Piece of the Boar, or the Stag that is cover'd o'er with their own Blood in the Combat? Nay, the very ² Paunches of Boars stuff'd with the crude indigested Entrails of Men are Dishes much in vogue; and so Man belches up Man by surfeiting upon Beasts fed with Men. You who eat thus, *bless me*, how differently do you eat from Christians? But what can we think of Men so perfectly

¹ *Hodie isthic Bellone sacratus sanguis de femore profcisso.*] In allusion to which *Lucan lib. 1.*

*Diraque per populum Cumana Carnina vatis
Vulgantur, tum quos sectis Bellona lacertis
Sava monet, &c.*

See more upon this in *Beroaldus*, and *Lastan. l. 1. Sect. 21.*

² *Urforum alvei appetuntur cruditantes adhuc de visceribus humanis.*] To such a degree of Luxury, or rather Bestialty were the Romans grown, that a Bears Paunch stuff'd with the reeking Viscera, or Guts of Gladiators was reckon'd a rare Dish, and by the sumptuary Laws against Luxury I find that *Verrina* and *Abdomina* (which I take to be the same with these *Alvei*) were forbidden at Feasts. *Vid. Plin. l. 8. cap. 51.*

Brutish

Brutish as to lick up the very first Principles of Life and Blood, and so diet upon Child and Parent both at the same time? For shame therefore blush when you meet a Christian, who will not endure a Drop of the Blood of any Animal among his Victuals, and therefore for fear any shou'd be lodg'd among the Entrails, we abstain from things strangl'd, and such as die of themselves.

Lastly, Among other Experiments for the Discovery of Christians, this is one, to present 'em with Blood-puddings, as very well knowing our Opinion about the Unlawfulness of eating Blood. This, I say, is the stumbling Block, and Offence you lay in the way of Christians; and what a strange thing is it, that you who are confident that the Christians are so religiously averse to the Blood of Beasts, shou'd imagin 'em so sharp set upon the Blood of Men? This cou'd never be, unless you had tasted the Blood of both, and found that of Men to be the sweeter Temptation; which therefore you shou'd make like the Censer of Incense, to be another Touchstone of a Christian; and so he might be detected, as well by accepting the Blood, as refusing the Sacrifice, and in like manner be put to death for Tasting, as he is now for sacrificing: And you the Judges of Life and Death, need never fear the want of human Blood to make the Experiment. As for Incest, where can you look to find such human Monsters, so likely, as among the Worshippers of an incestuous *Jove*? We have the Authority of

s Ctesias

* *Ctesias* for the *Persians* mixing with their Mothers. And the *Macedonians* are suspected, because when they first heard the Tragical Lamentations of *Œdipus* for this Sin with his Mother *Jocasta*, they cry'd out in Ridicule ---- *ἔλαυνε εἰς τὴν μητέρα*, ---- Courage, noble Warriour, and go on bravely against your Mother.

Recollect now with your selves, and you'll see what a Licence there is for Incest, from some Errors which must necessarily seduce into it, by the help and fewel of Lust and Luxury. For, first, you expose your Sons to be taken up by the next Passenger, who happens to come by with more Bowels than your selves, or you emancipate 'em from all Relation to you, in order to be adopted into nobler Families; and by both these Kinds of Alienation it cannot well be, but that the Knowledge of your Children in some time must wear out and vanish; and for want of this Knowledge, when the unnatural Mixture has once taken Root, it spreads continually, and the Original Stain diffuses it self from Generation to Generation. And then also, you have an inseparable Companion of your Lust in every Place, it sticks to you at home, and travels with you

* *Persas cum Matribus misceri Ctesias refert.*] Some Fragments of *Ctesias* were publish'd by *Henry Stephens*; but for the Incest of the *Persians* it is notorious. See *Strabo lib. 5. ad fin.* *Curtius lib. 7.* and *Catullus in Gellium* sings thus——

*Nascatur Magus ex Gelli Matrisque nefando
Concubitu, & discat Persicum aruspicium,
Nam Magus ex Matre & Nato gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum impius Relligio.*

by Land, and takes Shipping with you at Sea; and by this ubiquitarian Lust, Brothers and Sisters may easily come together like the scatter'd Seed in a wide Field, and as Travellers often do by the help of Commerce, and mix in strange Confusions, without the Parties knowing any thing of the Relation. But as for Christians, their inviolable Chastity is a Hedge about 'em against such unhappy Accidents; and by how much the purer they keep themselves from Fornication and Adultery, by so much the more no doubt are they preserv'd secure from the Chance of Incest. Nay, some among us, for fear of such Disorders, have put themselves beynd the Possibility of this Sin, by a perpetual virginity, by preserving the Innocence of a Child, to the Extremity of Age. If now therefore you wou'd turn your Eyes inward, and see the Guilt in your selves, you wou'd see Innocence in us, for Contraries are best seen together, but you labour under a twofold Blindness, which is, not to see things that are, and to see to see things which really are not; the Truth of this I will shew in its proper place, by an Induction of Particulars, but at present I will pass to Matters of more notorious Evidence.

C H A P. X.

That the Gods of the Gentiles are no Gods.

YOU say we are Atheists, and will not be at the expence of a Sacrifice for the Life of the Emperors; and if the first be true, the Consequence is just, for if we will not offer to the Gods for our selves, 'tis not likely we shou'd do it for others. 'Tis upon this Account therefore that we are conven'd as guilty of Sacrilege and Treason; this I take to be the main Article, and may be look'd upon as the Sum of the Charge against us, and therefore deserves a particular Discussion; and we doubt not to acquit ourselves in this Point, if Prejudice and Injustice be not our Judges; Prejudice, I say, which pretumes things that are false to be true, and Justice which rejects evident Truth, when heard.

We profess then to have laid aside the Worship of your Gods, from the time we knew 'em to be no Gods; that therefore which you are to expect from us, is, that we disprove 'em to be Gods, and consequently not to be worshipped; for if they are Gods, Devotion no doubt is their Due, and the Christians ought to be punished for desiring the Gods, out of an Opinion that they are not Gods, if it can be made appear that they are. But Gods they are, say you; for the truth of this, we appeal from your words to your Conscience, let that be our Judge, and let that condemn

detain us, if you can deny all those you now worship for Gods; once to have been Men. If you can be hearty in this Denial, you shall be convinc'd of the Mistake from your own Antiquities testifying against 'em to this Day, from the Cities where they were born, and the Countries where they left Impressions of Frailty; and *alas!* where the very Tombs of the Immortals are shewn.

But I will not presume to run over the whole Inventory of Deities, their Numbers are formidable, there are your ^t new and old Gods, Greeks and Barbarians, Romans, Strangers, Captives, Adoptives, Proper, Common, Male and Female, Country, City, Sea and Camp Gods. A Man must have wondrous little to do with his time to give out their Titles by retale, and so I shall lump 'em together, and speak of 'em only in gross; and this not to improve your Knowledge, but only to quicken your Memories, for you seem much inclin'd to forget many of your Gods.

First then, *Saturn* with you is the eldest Deity in Worship, from him we are to begin our Reck'ning of all your Gods, of the most noted especially, and most in Vogue; and he being the original God, we may judge of all his Posterity from him. As much therefore as

^t *Novos, Veteres, Barbaros, &c.*] After the most diligent Collection, *Varro* has muster'd up an Army of Gods to the Tune of above thirty thousand. The Explanation of the Titles, and some Instances of each of the sort of Gods mention'd, you may see in *Pamelius* upon this place; but for a fuller and more distinct Account I refer to *Alex. ab Alex. lib. 2. p. 379. and lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 433. and p. 436.*

we can learn from History, we find that neither *Diodorus* the Greek, or *Thallus*, or *Cassius Severus*, or *Cornelius Nepos*, or any other Commentator of Antiquities, speak of *Saturn*, any otherwise than as of a Man. And if you wou'd argue from things, I cannot think of a Place, that can supply you with Arguments so well as *Italy*; for there you may trace *Saturn* in the most expressive Prints of Man. After many Expeditions from *Greece* you'll find him landed in your own Country, and there by the Consent of *Janus* or *Janes* (as the *Salii* call him) taking up his Seat, the Hill he inhabited called after his own Name *Saturnius*, and the City he founded, *Saturnia*, to this Day; and at length all *Italy* succeeded to this Title, after that of *Œnotria*. The ^u Invention of Writing

^u *Ab ipso primum Tabulæ, & Imagine signatus nummus & inde Ærario præsidet.*] This *ærarium* or Treasure-house, of which *Saturn* was President, was not only the publick Exchequer, but in it likewise were kept the Acts of the Senate, the Books of Records, and the *Libri Elephantini*, so called from their Bigness, in which all the Names of the Citizens were register'd, and from these Books, entitul'd, *Tabulæ publicæ*, the Treasury was called *Tabularium*. See *Servius* upon that of *Vingil*, lib. 2. *Georg.*

——— *Aut Populi Tabularia vidit.*

Imagine Signatus.] *Macrobius Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 7.* reports, that *Janus* having entertain'd *Saturn*, who came to him by Ship, and having made him Co-partner of his Kingdom for the good Instructions he receiv'd from him, the first Money he stamp'd, (which was Brass) he impress'd on one side the Image of himself, and on the other the Fore-deck of a Ship, in memory of *Saturn*, according to that of *Ovid. 1. Fast.*

*Multa quidem didici; sed cur navalis in ære
Altera signata est, altera Formæ biceps?
At bona Posteritas puppem solum ut in ære
Hospitis adventum testificata Dei.*

Pliny

ting, and Coining the Money with the King's Image, you ascribe to *Saturn*; and for that Reason you make him Patron of the publick Treasury, which is plac'd in his Temple. But now if *Saturn* was a Man, and consequently the Son of a Man, he cou'd not properly be the Son of Heaven and Earth: And it was very natural for a Person of an unknown Race to be father'd upon these two, whose Children in some Sense we may be all said to be; for considering how much our Lives are all owing to the concurrent Influences of Heaven and Earth, who does not by way of Respect honour 'em with the Title of common Parents? Or it might come to pass from a Custom of saying a Person drop'd from the Skies, when he step'd in, unknown and unexpected by those about him. And so *Saturn* from his surprizing Appearance in *Italy*, might be said to come from Heaven. Besides, a Person of an uncertain Family had usually the Denomination of a Son of * Earth; not to mention the Rudeness of those Times when the People

Pliny in lib. 33. cap. 3. says, that Servius Tullius was the first who stamp'd Brass Money with the Image of Beasts, and so from Pecude the word Pecunia. Afterwards the Images of the Casars with Inscriptions and Titles were impress'd upon the Coin; so Nero in the Habit of an Harper. Sueton. in vit. Ner. and Alexander Severus in the Habit of Alexander the Great, &c.

* *Terra filios vulgus vocat, quorum genus est incertum.*] Thus is *Tytius* called both by *Homer* and *Virgil*, Ἡσὼν ἐποφάμενον τιτυδὸν γαίης υἱόν. *Odyss. lib. 7.* and so again, lib. 11. Καὶ τιτυδὸν υἱὸν γαίης ἐεικνύσκει υἱόν.

Nec non & Tytium Terra omnipotentis Alumnus.

Id est, Filium, according to Servius. Virgil Æneid, lib. 6.

were struck with the sight of a Stranger as at the Presence of a God ; since the refined Spirits of this polish'd Age have made Improvements of the Folly, and rais'd them up into Gods, whom the other Day they solemnly attended to the Funeral. This is enough in Reason to say about *Saturn*, tho' 'tis but little ; I shall now do as much for *Jove*, and shew him to be a mere Man, as well as the Son of a Man, and consequently the whole Swarm of Divinities Mortal, and like Father like Son.

C H A P. XI.

That the Fancy of making Gods of dead Men is a very foolish Fancy.

AND because you have not the Hardiness to deny, but that your Gods were once Men, and yet stand up for Posthumous Divinities, or dead Men turn'd into Gods, I shall now consider the Reasons for such an Imagination. In the first place then, you will be forc'd to grant some superior God who y auctions out his Divinity, and upon good Consideration makes Gods of Men ; for Men cannot naturalize themselves into Gods ;

¶ *Mancipem quandam Divinitatis.*] These *Mancipes* were the Chief among the Publicans, or the principal Farmers of the Publick Revenues. *Vid. Cic. de Arusp. respons. & Alex. ab Alex. lib. 2. p. 526.*

nor can any one else bestow the Divine Nature upon 'em, but him who is the Proprietor of it. But now, if the supreme Power it self cannot make Gods, you then presume in vain upon made Gods without a Maker. Certainly if Men cou'd deifie themselves, they wou'd never have taken up with a humane Being, when a Divine one was in their Power. Upon Supposition therefore, that there is one who is able to make Gods, I will examin the Reasons for making 'em ; and upon consideration I can find none, unless it be that the supreme God has too much Business upon his Hands to manage as it shou'd be, without some Sub-gods to assist him. But, first, 'tis the most unbecoming Idea of Almighty Power, to think it wants the Help of a Man, much less of a dead one : And 'tis as unbecoming infinite Wisdom, which cou'd not but foresee its wants, not to have made an assistant Deity from the Beginning, rather than to tarry to the end of a Man's Life before he can supply his Necessities.

But I can see no room for any Help-meet for God ; for whether you consider this great Machine of the World as eternal with *Pythagoras*, or made in time with *Plato*, you'll find it from its Structure framed with all Materials and Movements necessary for the Order and Government of this vast Body ; and he who gave this Perfection to every thing, cou'd not want it himself, or stand in need of an Assistant. He did not wait for a *Saturn*, or any of the *Saturnian* Race, to work under
P 4 him

him in the ordering of his World. For Men must be vain to the last Degree to think that it did not always rain, and the Stars dart their Rays, and the Sun and Moon shine perpetually in their Orbs, and the Thunder bellow, and poor *Jove* himself, in whose Hands now you put the Bolts, tremble at the Clap; and likewise that the Fruits of the Earth were not in Being before *Bacchus*, and *Ceres*, and *Minerva*, and even the first Man was form'd out of it; because the World must be made and provided with all the Necessaries of Life, before Man can come to live in it. Lastly, your Gods are reputed to be the Inventors, and not the Creators of these Supports of Life; but that which is found out, must have a Being before it can be found, and that which is thus in Being cannot properly be said to be his who found it, but his who made it; because it was in Existence before it was found out. But if *Bacchus* was consecrated for the discovery of Vines, *Lucullus*, methinks, had hard Usage to miss of a Consecration for the Plantation of Cherry-trees in *Italy*; for he is celebrated as the Author of this new Fruit, because he first brought it over with him from *Pontus*.

Wherefore, if the Universe was well appointed with all its Furniture from the Beginning, and every thing was posted in its proper Station, and adjusted with proper Powers for the Execution of its Office, without any foreign Assistance, this Reason of yours for making of Gods falls to the Ground; because the Places and Functions you assign to them
are

are supply'd by Nature, and all things wou'd have always been just as they are, whether you had created any Gods or no. But you turn over to another Reason, and say that this conferring of Godships was intended for the rewarding of Virtue. From hence, I suppose, you'll grant the God-making God himself to be vertuous in Perfection, and consequently not to dispense these divine Honours at Sixes and Sevens, without having any Respect to the Merits of the Persons. I desire you therefore to sum up the Merits of those you worship for Gods, and judge whether they are likely to lift Men up into Heaven, or not rather press 'em down to the very bottom of Hell, which when the fit's upon you, you call the Prison of the Damned. This is the Dungeon where you thrust the Undutiful and Incestuous, the Adulterers, and Ravishers of Virgins, and Abusers of themselves with Mankind, the Savage, and the Murtherer, Thieves and Cheats, and whoever resembles some one God or other of yours; for you cannot name one without a Fault, unless you disown him to have been a Man. But they have left too many Prints of human Frailty to deny 'em to be Men, and such as not only prove 'em Men, but such also as prove it incredible they shou'd be made Gods in another World.

If you sit upon the Bench to punish such Miscreants, and Men of Honour spit at such nasty Acquaintance, and the supreme God takes up such Fellows to associate with his Majesty,
Why

Why then do you condemn them whose Col-leagues in Wickedness you adore? This Justice of yours is mere Lampoon and Satyr upon Heaven. If you wou'd get into the good Graces of your Deities, I wou'd advise you to consecrate the greatest Rakes you can find, for certainly a Consecration of such Rakes, is doing Honour to those they are like.

But not to dwell longer upon things so unbecoming the divine Nature, I'll suppose your Gods to have been good honest Men, yet how many better and more noted have you left in Hell? For there have you not left the wise *Socrates*, the just *Aristides*, the excellent General *Themistocles*, and *Alexander* the Great, *Polycrates* the Fortunate, *Cræsus* the Rich, and *Demosthenes* the Eloquent? Which of your Gods had more Gravity and Wisdom than *Cato*, more Justice and Conduct, with Courage, than *Scipio*, more Magnanimity than *Pompey*, more Success than *Sylla*, more Wealth than *Crassus*, and more Eloquence than *Tully*? How much more becoming had it been for him who had a Foresight of these worthier Personages, to have stay'd till their Death before his Creation of Gods? But he was in haste, I suppose, for Company, and having taken up those you worship, he made fast the Door, and so Heaven lies blushing now, to see braver Souls repining in Hell.

C H A P. XII.

Concerning the Vanity of Image-worship.

BUT I shall push these things no farther, and take another Course to set you right in the Notion of your Gods; for by demonstrating what they are not, I shall shew what they are. And as much as I can learn of your Gods, they have nothing of the Venerable but merely their Names, impos'd by some old People dead and gone. I meet with no Account of their Lives, but what is blended with Fables, and I find the whole Fabrick of your Religion built upon a Pack of human Inventions. As for your Images, I shall only observe that they are material, and often of the same Matter with your common Utensils; and 'tis ten to one but the holy Image has some Sister-Vessel about the House, the Pots and Kettles being frequently of the same Metal and Piece with the Gods. Nay, oftentimes the Vessels themselves have the good Luck to change their Fate, and be turn'd into Gods, by the help of Consecration, which alters the Property, and by the help of Art, which alters the Form, tho' not without great Sacrilege and contumely to any of the Gods in their very Making. So that 'tis, indeed, a mighty Consolation to us who are punish'd for these Gods, to find 'em suffer the like with us, before they come to be worshipful;

shipful; for Christians are fasten'd to Crosses and Stumps of Trees; and have you e'er an Image, that has not been so apply'd in its Formation? 'Tis upon a Frame of Wood in the Form of a Gibbet, where the Body first takes its Degree of Divinity. Our Christian Sides are torn with Nails; but how is ev'ry Member of your poor Gods maul'd with Hatchets, Saws and Files? We lose our Heads, and your Gods have none, before the Lead and the Glue, and the Nails set 'em on: We are drawn about by wild Beast, and so *Bacchus* is drawn by Tygers, *Cybele* by Lyons, and *Ceres* by Serpents: We are cast into the Fire, and your Gods are cast and founded there also: We are condemned to the Mines, and are not your Gods dug out from thence? We are banish'd into Islands, and there's not an Island but is famous for the Birth or Burial of some God or other. If these are the Ways of Deifying, then while you are plaguing Christians, you are only hammering 'em into Gods, and your Punishing ought properly to be call'd a Consecration. But in truth your Gods have not the Sense to feel the Hardships they undergo in Making, nor the Honours you pay them when made. And here I expect you shou'd cry out, O Blasphemy! O Sacrilege! but you may gnash and foam as you please; yet remember that you your selves are the Admirers of that *Seneca*, who in his Book of Superstition has been much severer against you upon this Head than

than I. If ^a therefore we will not adore your Statues and Images as cold as Death, and in this so very like the Bodies they represent, do not we deserve Panegyrick rather than Punishment for leaving an acknowledg'd Error? And which the very ^b Kites and Mice and Spiders know to be dead as well as we. Is it possible we can hurt those, we are certain are not? For that which is not, is not capable of suffering, because it is not.

* *Igitur si Statuas & Imagines frigidas mortuorum suorum simillimas non adoramus.*] This Passage the *Magdeburgenses* (says *Pamelius*) have wrested against the Use of Images in the Church, and takes it ill of *Zephyrus* for concluding, that the Christians in *Tertullian's* Time had only the Sign of the Cross above the Altar, and is so unfortunate in his Zeal, as to take occasion even from hence to justify, not only the Use of Images, but the Worship of them too, in a very long Note upon this Place. But I shall not pretend to answer a Person of such Hardiness, only leave it to any Impartial Reader, whether he can think it possible, that *Tertullian* would have been so merrily severe for this whole Chapter together, upon the Heathens for the Worship of Images, had the Christians of his time done the like, by Virtue of the Romish Distinction between *Dulia* and *Latria*, without saying one word of such a Distinction.

^b *Quas Milvi & Mures & Araneæ intelligunt.*] *Horace* himself takes the Liberty of jesting in the like manner.

*Mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquiner albis
Corvorum.*

C H A P. XIII.

*Concerning the Irreverence of the Heathen
to their Gods.*

BUT Gods they are in your Opinion, say you; and if so, how comes it to pass, that you use 'em so scurvily, with such Prophaness, Sacrilege, and Irreverence? How dare, you despise what you presume to be Divine, and pull down the Altars of them you fear, and ridicule the Deities you defend? Examine the Charge, and shew where I falsifie; for if you worship, some one God, and some another, How can it be, but you must offend the God you overlook; for you cannot give the Preference to one, without postponing another; for in the Election and Reprobation of Gods, as well as Men, Honour and Dishonour are inseparable Relations. It is now therefore evident, that you must put a slight upon the Deities you reprobate, and that you cannot be afraid of offending those, whom you have the Boldness to reprobate. For as I sharply observed before, the Fate of ev'ry God depends upon the Vote of the Senate, he must pass the House before he comes to be a God, and the House ungods him at pleasure. As for your domestick Deities called *Lares*,
you

^c *Domesticos Deos quos Lares dicitis.*] These *Lares* were painted in the Form of a Dog, as having the Charge of the House committed to their Custody, according to that of *Ovid. Fast. 5.*

per vigilantque Lares, pervigilantque Canes.

you treat them I am sure but very homely; for these Household Gods are pawn'd and sold, and truck'd like other Household Goods. *Saturn* is forced sometimes to serve in the Kitchen, and *Minerva* in the Laundry; for when these Images are worn out, or much batter'd by long worshipping, they make a great many good Implements; or if the Master is in want, he strips his *Lares*; for Necessity is the most sacred, and soonest serv'd of any God about the House.

The Gods of the Publick, by publick Order, are prophaned just like these Gods of the House, for they are bought and sold at Market-Auctions, and enter'd into your Books of Account, and pay Duties for their Deityships; for if the Capitol and the Herb-market are to be leas'd out to farm, they are both proclaim'd by the same Crier, and the Prices of both adjudg'd under the same Standard, and the Farm of the God register'd by the Treasurer, like any other publick Rent. But the Lands which are clog'd with the greatest Duties, are the least valuable, and the Heads which pay Capitation are most Ignoble, because these are Marks of Servitude. But among the Gods I find it otherwise, for they who pay most Tribute, are look'd upon as the most Holy; or rather they have the most Devotion pay'd 'em, who return the most

The Custom in sacrificing to these domestick Deities, was to eat up all that was offered. Hence that Phrase, *Lari Sacrificat*, when a Fellow eats up all before him, *He sacrifices to his Household God*.

Custom.

Custom. Your divine Majesties are your Merchandize, and their Worships are ^d carry'd about to Taverns and Ale-houses a begging. You demand Money for Entrance, and Money for a Place in your Temple; 'tis not possible to serve your Gods *gratis*; you turn the Penny with 'em all. Besides, what Honours do you confer upon your Gods, that you confer not upon dead Men? You give to Both, Chapels, and Altars, and Images, habited and adorn'd alike. The human Image is dress'd out to give an Idea of the Age, the Art, and Profession of the Person deceas'd, and the Divine one is apparell'd with the same Design, and in the same manner to exhibit the God. How does a ^e Funeral Banquet differ from a Feast to *Jove*, or the Vessels you make use of to pour out Wine to the Gods above, from those you use for the Shades below? What Difference between a Soothsayer and an Embalmer, for they are both employ'd about the Entrails of the Dead? Nevertheless,

^d *Circuit cauponas Religio mendicans.*] Here Tertullian no doubt alludes to the Practice of the *Corybantes*, who with the Picture of their Goddess *Cybele* in their Hands went dancing about the Streets with Pipes and Cymbals playing before them, and keeping time to the Thumps upon their Breasts, and in this Posture they begg'd of all they met; and from hence were called *Cybeles Circulatores*, the Beggars, or Jugglers of *Cybele*, and in Greek — *μυλισταί*. From *μύτης*, which in this place signifies *Cybele* the Great Manner of the Gods, and *ἀσίστης* an Alms-gatherer or Beggar.

^e *Quo differt ab epulo Jovis silicernium?*] *Silicernium* was a Funeral Banquet to which the oldest sort only were invited, and it being the Custom to celebrate this Feast upon a Stone, the Supper was termed *Silicernium quasi Silicernium*, that is, *cæna super silicem*; and hence this word came to signify an old Man ready for the Grave, or a Funeral Banquet, or rather as our own Proverb has it, *To give the Crow a Pudding*.

I must

I must own you act consistently with your selves in performing divine Honours to the dead Emperors, because you did it to 'em living; and no doubt but the Gods will acknowledge the Favour and thank you for putting them and their Masters, the Emperors upon the level.

But when I see you adore ^f *Larentina*, a publick Strumpet with the same Honours as you do *Juno*, *Ceres* and *Diana*, methinks, I cou'd wish you had taken into your Roll the more noted ^g *Lais*, and *Phryne*; when you inaugurate ^h *Simon Magus* with a Statue and Inscription, To the most Holy God; when you Canonize a certain ⁱ *Ganymed* (I know not who) nurs'd up in Apartments at

^f *Larentinam publicam Scortum, &c.*] This *Larentina* I take to be the same with *Larentia* in *Lactantius* the Wife of *Faustulus*, the Nurse of *Romulus*, a noted Prostitute among the Shepherds, afterwards worshipped by the Romans with divine Honours, as *Faula* the Mistress of *Hercules* likewise was. *Vid. Lactant. lib. 1. Sect. 20.*

^g *Laidem.*] This same *Lais* was a celebrated Strumpet of *Corinth*, of whom *A. Gellius* tells this Story; That *Demosthenes* went privily to her to know her Price, she ask'd him a thousand *Drachma*, or a *Talent*, at which *Demosthenes*, being astonish'd, reply'd, — ἐν ὀνείματι μὲνέων δεῖται ὡς μετὰ τιμῆς, *I will not buy Repentance at so dear a Rate.* *Vid. A. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 8.* And hence that of *Horace* —

Non cuius homini contingit adire Corinthum.

^h *Simonem Magum Statuâ & Inscriptione Sancti Dei inauguratis.*] Concerning this Statue and Inscription to *Simon Magus*, for which the Fathers have suffer'd so unjustly from some Cruicks, I have spoken at large in my Notes upon *Justin's* Apology.

ⁱ *Nescio quem, &c.*] This nameless Person struck at by *Tertulian*, *Justin Martyr* speaks out; it was *Antinous*, *Hadrian's* *Ganymede*; and by his Order consecrated for this Service.

Q

Court,

Court, altho', indeed, your old Gods are not of a better Family, yet they cannot but take it very ill, that you shou'd offer to make Gods at this rate, now-a-days, as much as your Forefathers did of old.

C H A P. XIV.

That the Heathens do but mock their Gods in offering the Refuse, and the vilest Parts of the Sacrifice.

I Shall now take a Review of the Rites of your Religion, but will not insist upon the Quality of your Sacrifices, which you know to be the oldest and scabideft Beasts you can find; if they happen to be fat and good, you chop off the Hoofs, and some outside Bits, and such Pieces only you vouchsafe your Gods, which you bestow upon your Dogs and Slaves. Instead of offering *Hercules* the ^k Tenth of your Goods,

^k De Decima Herculis.] Pliny in his natural History, lib. 12. c. 14. mentions a Law in Arabia, which oblig'd ev'ry Merchant to offer the Tenth of his Frankincense, the Product of that Country, to the God *Sabis*. We find also in *Justin*, lib. 18. cap. 7. that the *Carthaginians* sent the Tenth of their Spoils taken in the *Sicilian War*, to *Hercules* of Tyre. The *Æthiopians* pay'd the Tenth to their God *Assabinus*. Vid. *Plin.* lib. 12. cap. 19. The Roman General *Sylla* dedicated the Tenth of all his Estate to *Hercules*, and so likewise did *M. Crassus*. Vid. *Plutarch.* in *Sylla & Criss.* Instances in abundance of this kind are to be seen in *Selden's Hi* of *Tubes*, cap. 3. *Mountag. distrib.* p. 1. cap. 3. and in *Spencer de leg. Hebr.* lib. 3. cap. 10. Now from hence will arise
a Que-

Goods, you hardly lay one Third of it upon his Altar ; not that I blame you for this, for believe me, I take it for a great Instance of your Wisdom, to save some of that which otherwise would all be lost.

But I shall turn to your Writings ; and *bleſs me !* What ſtrange Stuff about your Gods do I find, even in your Inſtitutions of Prudence, and ſuch Books as are deſign'd to poliſh a Gentleman, and form him to all the Offices of a civil Life ? Here I find your Gods engag'd by Pairs like Gladiators, one againſt another, helter ſkelter, ſome for *Greeks*, and ſome for *Trojans*. *Venus* wounded with a human Shaft, in *reſcuing her Son* ¹ *Æneas* from *Diomedes*, *juſt upon the Point of killing him*. The God of

a Queſtion, how it is poſſible that Nations ſo remote, and who never ſeem to have had the leaſt Commerce or Acquaintance with each other, ſhou'd come to hit upon the ſame Notion as to dedicate an exact Tenth, no more nor no leſs. This Proportion is certainly in it ſelf a thing indifferent, and conſequently not diſcoverable by the Light of Nature, and the Practice was too conſtant, regular and univerſal to be aſcrib'd to Humour or Fancy ; nor can it with any Probability be thought to have ſpread over the World from the *Jewiſh* Nation, a Nation debarr'd from correſponding with the Gentile World, and mortally hated for the Singularities of their Religion, and beſides the Cuſtom of dedicating a Tenth, was a Cuſtom long before the Jews were an eſtabliſh'd People ; it ſeems therefore moſt reaſonable to believe that this Cuſtom like Sacrifice, Prieſthood and Marriage, was deriv'd from *Adam* to *Noah* ; and from him continu'd by his Poſterity to the Confuſion at *Babel*, and by means of that univerſal Diſperſion ſpread over all the World.

¹ *Quod filium ſuum Æneam pene interfeſſum, &c.*] Theſe Words are not in *Rigaltius's* Edition, but being in that of *Pamelius*, and an Illuſtration of the Story, I have tranſlated them ; and the following Fables, which the Poets have told to the eternal Diſgrace of the Heathen Gods, are ſo common, and ſo frequently occur in all the Apologetiſts, that I will not preſume the Reader ignorant.

War in Chains for thirteen Months, and in a very lamentable Pickle : And *Jove* by the help of a Monster narrowly escaping the like Treatment from the rest of the Celestial Gang. One while he is represented crying for his *Sarpedon*, another while in the Arms of his grunting Sister, recounting his Amours, and protesting that of all his Mistresses, she is the Darling. Besides, which of your Poets takes not the Liberty to disgrace a God for a Complement to his Prince ? One makes *Apollo* King *Admetus's* Shepherd ; another makes *Neptune* Bricklayer to *Laomedon* ; and the Man of Lyrics, *Pindar*, I mean, sings of *Æsculapius's* being Thunderstruck for abusing his Skill in Physick out of Covetousness. But I must needs say, that *Jove* did ill, if *Jove* was the Thunderer, in being so unnatural to his Nephew, and so envious to so fine an Artist. However, these things, if true, ought not to be divulged ; nor invented, if false, by any who pretend so much Zeal for the Gods and their Religion : But neither Tragedians nor Comedians are one bit more tender of the Reputation of your Deities ; for you shall not meet a Prologue that is not stuff'd with the Disasters and Excesses of the Family of some God or other. I shall say nothing of the Philosophers, let the Instance of *Socrates* serve for all, who in derision of your Gods swore by an Oak, a Goat, and a Dog. But *Socrates*, you say, was put to death for thus denying the Gods ; it must be confess'd, indeed, that Truth has always been on the suffering Side,

Side; but yet since the *Athenians* repented of the Sentence, and reveng'd his Death with that of his Accusers, and erected to him a Statue of Gold in their very Temple; this I say is Argument enough, that upon second Thoughts, they came over to *Socrates*, and approv'd his Testimony against the Gods. But *Diogenes* also rallies very merrily upon *Hercules*, and the Roman Cynick ^m *Varro* as waggishly introduces three hundred *Joves* or *Jupiters* without Heads.

C H A P. XV.

Concerning the shameful Representation of the Gods upon the Stage, and Amphitheatre.

THE profane Wits are continually at work to raise you Pleasure at the disgrace of the Gods; when you see the Farces of *Lentulus*, or *Hostilius* acted, tell me whether it be the Mimicks or the Gods you laugh at. You can sit out ⁿ *Anubis* the Adulterer, and see

^m *Romanus Cynicus Varro.*] He reckons up 43 *Hercules's*, as well as 300 Headless *Joves*. Vid. *Tiraquell* upon *Alex. ab Alex.* lib. 2. p. 379.

ⁿ *Machum Anubim, Lunam Masculum, &c.*] We may easily conjecture from the several Arguments of these Farces, that they were a Lampoon and publick Mockery of the Gods then in worship; but none of these mention'd are extant as I know of. The

see *Luna masculus* play'd, or *Diana* whipt, or the last Will and Testament of dying *Jove*, or the three hunger-starv'd *Hercules*. But besides these Pieces of Buffoonery, all your ° Comedies and Tragedies are chiefly freighted with the Uncleanneſs of your Gods. 'Tis a publick Pleaſure to behold *Sol* in Sadneſs for the Fall of his Son *Phaeton*. You can ſee without a Bluſh the Mother of the Gods, old *Cybele*, ſighing after a coy Shepherd. You can bear to hear all the Titles of *Jove's* Adventures ſung upon the Theatre; and ſee with Patience *Paris* ſit in Judgment upon *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Minerva*. What

Titles of all, but that of *Luna Masculus*, do in ſome Meaſure explain them; and if it may be forgiven in a matter of no Moment, and where the Commentators are ſilent, to put in my Opinion, 'tis this—There was in *Aſſyria* among the *Carræ*, a Temple dedicated to *Luna*, in which whoever offer'd his Supplications to *Luna* was ſure to be under Petticoat Government; but he who ſacrific'd to *Lunus* ſhould continue Maſter of his Wife. *Vid. Al. Spartian. in Antonin. Caracalla.* This no doubt was a Subject comical enough for the Wits of the time to make merry with the Goddeſs *Luna*, and the God *Lunus*, which I take to be the *Luna Masculus*; tho' there may be another Meaning not fit to be mention'd.

° *Sed & Hiſtrionum literæ omnem ſœditatem eorum designant.]* *An Urb. Cond.* 400, there happen'd a great Sickneſs, and the Romans ſuperſtitiously conceiting that the Wrath of the Gods could no otherwiſe be propitiated than by the Inſtitution of ſome new Games, ſent for certain Stage-Players from *Hetruria*, which they called *Hiſtriones* from the *Hetrurian* word *Hiſter*, which ſignifies ſuch a Player. *Vid. Polydor. de Invent. lib. 3. c. 13.* Theſe Plays in time, eſpecially the *Mimicæ*, grew to that exceſſive Lewdneſs, that the *Pantomimi* were put down by *Domitian*. *Vid. Sueton. in vita ejus, cap. 7.* Afterwards expell'd by *Trajan*; and the *Hiſtriones* by *Tiberius*. *Vid. Tacit. lib. 4.* and even by *Nero*, *Tacit. lib. 13. & Sueton. in vita ejus, cap. 16.* And had *Tertullian* liv'd in our Days, and ſeen the Heatheniſh Freedoms of the Stage in a Chriſtian Commonwealth, he would have paſſ'd a ſeverer Censure upon the Authors, Players and Spectators, who countenance them without a Bluſh, than he did upon thoſe in the Age he liv'd.

a lewd

a lewd and Infamous Head is that which is masked over to Personate a God? What a prostitute Body, form'd for the Stage by a long Course of Effeminacy, is that which plays *Minerva* or *Hercules*? What Prophanation and Violence is this to divine Majesty? While you applaud the Actors, don't you hiss your Gods out of the World? But may be, I am to think you more Religious in the Amphitheatre, where the Gods are brought in dancing upon human Blood, and upon the dead Bodies of Criminals; the Gods, I say, which supply the Fable, unless it be when the poor Actors are forc'd to suffer to the Life, and be the very Gods themselves. For we have seen an Actor truly suffer Castration in personating the God *Atys* of *Pessinus*; and another playing *Hercules* in real Flames; and among the Ludicrous^p Barbarities which are exhibited at Noon-day,

^p *Inter Ludicras meridianorum crudelitates.*] To understand this, we must remember, that in the Morning, Men were brought forth upon the Theatre to fight with wild Beasts, and these Morning-Combatants were allow'd Arms offensive and defensive. Another sort were brought forth about Noon (called therefore *Meridiani*) naked, with Swords only in one Hand cutting, and with the other Hand empty, grasping and tearing each others Flesh. *Vid. Sueton. Claud. 34.* so that *Seneca Ep. 7.* comparing these two sorts of Combats, sayeth, *Quicquid antea pugnatum est, misericordia fuit.* But that which I think more material to remark (especially since *Pamelius* and *Rigaltius* have not) is, the peculiar Light that this Custom of *Meridian Cruelties* lets into the 9th Verse of the 4th Chapter of *St. Paul's* first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. The Words are these; *I think God hath set forth us, the Apostles, last, as if we were appointed unto Death; for we are a Spectacle to the World, and to Angels, and to Men.* This Verse runs all in Terms Agonistical, *ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν*, hath set forth us last, or as the *Meridian Gladiators*, the word *ἀπέδειξεν* is properly *ostendit*, which

day ; for the entertainment of those who are more greedy of 'em than Dinner. I cou'd not forbear smiling to see Mercury going about with a Rod of Iron red hot, probing the Bodies to fetch out the Souls, and Jove's Brother Pluto, in like manner, with his Mallet in his Hand to finish those that were not quite dead, and make 'em ready for the Ferry-boat. But now if ev'ry one of these things, and many more of the same Complexion, I cou'd produce, notoriously tend to the Disquiet of your Gods in possession, and to lay their divine Honours in the Dust ; why then they cannot be look'd upon as acted upon a publick Stage, but merely in ridicule of Religion, both by the Actors and Spectators also, who delight in such Plays. But these you'll say, are Ludicrous and Pastimes only, but now if I give you an Appendix of some serious Debaucheries, which your Consciences will testifie to be as true as what

which signifies the Author or Exhibitor of these inhuman Sight ; and *Lipsius* makes *Ostendere Munus* in *Tully*, to be the same with *Proponere Munus* in *Suetonius*, both signifying the setting forth or Donour of these Combats. *Vid. Lips. in sat. lib. 2. c. 18.* God hath set forth us the Apostles last, ἐπιθρασυῖας, as Men appointed unto death, just as the last Gladiators were ; and θέατρον ἐργάζομεθα, we are made a Spectacle. All which evidently relate to the *Meridianorum crudelitates* ; and *Tertullian lib. de pud. p. 566.* cites the aforementioned Verse thus, Puto nos Deus Apostolos novissimos elegit, velut Belliarios ; I think God has chosen out us Apostles last, as the Belliarii, or Men condemn'd to be torn in pieces by wild Beasts. These being the last and bloodiest Spectacles, which for that Day appear'd upon the Theatre, and for which many were so fond, that they wou'd stay out Noon and lose their Dinner, for this likewise *Rigaltius* wou'd have included in this Expression, tho' I think without much Reason. However, I have translated it with this Intimation.

what I have just now spoken of with Relation to the Theatre, how that Adulteries are become a Merchandize in the very Temple, and Women pick'd up at the Altars, and the Lust fulfill'd in the Apartments of the Sacristans, and under the same pontifick Vestments, the very Incense still smoaking before their Eyes. If these, I say, are Abominations in vogue among the Heathen, I don't see but the Heathen Gods have more Reason to put in their Complaints against them, than against Christians.

The sacrilegious Profaners of Temples are only among your selves ; for Christians never enter your Temples, while you are serving your Idols, if they worship'd your Gods, they might serve 'em perhaps as you do : But if Christians do not worship the things you worship, pray what is it say you, that they do worship ; this then is the Subject now under examination, that we Christians are the Worshippers of the true God, who do not worship your false ones, nor go any longer astray after them, when our Eyes have been open'd to see our Error. Here then I shall present you with the whole Series of our Religion, having first return'd an Answer to some groundless Objections against it.

C H A P. XVI.

*Concerning the Ass's Head, and other
such like Vanities charg'd upon the
Christians.*

FOR some of you have dream'd your selves into a Belief, that an Ass's Head is the Christian's God. This ^a was insinuated first by *Cornelius Tacitus*, who in his fifth Book entring upon the *Jewish War* under *Vespasian*, begins with the History of that Nation, their Original, Name, and Religion, and giving a loose to his Invention, reports, that the *Jews* being deliver'd, or as he will have it, banish'd from *Egypt*, and being in great want of Water in the Desarts of *Arabia*, put themselves under the Conduct of some wild Asses they met by chance, concluding that they were going to drink after Pasture, and being in the very Article of Necessity thus luckily reviv'd, out of gratitude to their Benefactors, conse-

^a *Cornelius Tacitus hanc suspicionem inferuit.*] This Story concerning the Ass's Head, and the Ground of worshipping it, is not only reported confidently by *Tacitus*, but also by *Plutarch* *Vid. Plut. Sympos. l. 4. Quest. 5. p. 670.* and so likewise by *Appian the Alexandrian* many Years before, in his Books against the *Jews*. And this Fable has been as confidently taken up, and as ridiculously improv'd by some modern Atheists, to discredit the Miracle of *Moses* in making the Waters flow out of the Rock, who content themselves to solve this mighty Work, only by saying with an Air of Assurance, that *Moses* did all he did in this by the help of a wild Ass, which he made to follow him, by the Sagacity of which thirsty Ass, he discovered a secret Spring in the Rock.

crated a Head resembling that of the Beasts, who had befriended 'em in Extremity. This Account I take to have bred the Opinion about the Ass's Head; because we deriving our Religion from the *Jews*, might well be thought to be initiated in the Worship of the same Idol.

But yet this same Author *Cornelius Tacitus*, in truth, a great Broacher of Lies; in the very same History relates, that *Cn. Pompey* having sack'd *Jerusalem*, to gratifie his Curiosity in discovering the Misteries of the *Jewish* Religion, went into the Temple, and found not one Statue or Image therein; whereas, had they worshipped any graven Image, he had certainly found it in the most holy Place; and so much the rather because there the Vainity had been in no danger of a Discovery from Strangers, That being a Place which the High Priests alone were permitted to enter, and which was covered with a Veil that kept it from ev'ry other Eye. As for the Objection of the Ass's Head, I cannot but admire you shou'd insist upon it against Christians, you who cannot deny but that you pay divine Honours to all the Beasts of burthen, to Asses Heads and Bodies both, together with their Goddesses * *Epona*. But here, perhaps,

* *Cum sua Epona.*] This *Epona* was the Goddess of Stables, and is likewise taken Notice of, and read by *Minutius Felix* just as *Rigaltius* reads it. Tho' there is a terrible dispute among the Criticks. a great Cry, and very little Wool, about the spelling, and Quantity of this Goddess's Name; some spelling it *Hippona*, and making the middle Syllable long, others spelling it as *Rigaltius*

haps, lies the Crime, that among the Worshippers of ev'ry Animal, we shou'd be the Ass-worshippers only. I come now to another Calumny, which blackens us with the Adoration of a ^s Cross; and here I shall prove the Calum-

nius does, and making the middle Syllable short, and thus *Prudentius* in his *Apotheosis* makes it,

Nemo Cloacina aut Epone super astra Deabus.

Whoever thinks it worth his while, may see this Point fully clear'd by Dr. *Holyday* in his Note upon that Passage in the 8th. Sat. of *Juvenal*.

Jurat solam Epomam.

^s *Sed & qui Crucis Religiosos nos putat.*] The Primitive Christians (as I have already observ'd upon *Justin Martyr*) from signing themselves in Baptism with the Sign of the Cross, and the constant Use of it almost in the most common Actions of Life in Honour of their crucify'd Master, were defam'd by the Heathens as Worshippers of a Cross. *Tertullian* therefore in this place sets himself to wipe off this Scandal from the Christians, and does it as effectually, I think, as words can do it. And yet *Pamelius* is so very sanguine as to affirm, *That this Passage, however understood, most certainly makes for the Worship of the Cross.* That is, let *Tertullian* speak what he will against the Worship of the Cross, yet he must certainly speak for it; but let us consider the Case. Our Author is here not only answering but retorting the Objection of worshipping a Cross upon the Objectors themselves, and to this purpose makes use of the Argument *ad hominem*; and says, that they of all Men had the least Reason to charge the Worship of a Cross upon Christians, because there was not an Image they erected but what resembled a Cross in part, and then with his usual Smartness concludes, that we who worship an entire Cross, *if we do worship it, methinks* have much the better on't of you, who worship it only by halves. *If we do worship it*, says this Commentator, is only a wise and wary Expression, frequent with the Primitive Fathers; for fear had he confess'd the Worship of the Cross freely, it might have confirm'd the Heathen in their old Id'ry: And this is so true, says *Pamelius*, that in the 21 cap. *Tertullian* durst not speak out, *that the Christians worshipped Christ, but God only thro' Christ.* But a wise Reserve and wary Expressions, and such Pious Frauds were strange things to Primitive Christians. Idolatry was the reigning Sin of these times, and what all the Christian Apologists you'll find labour most of all to expose and ridicule out of the World. *Justin Martyr* spends great part of his first Apology in doing so, plainly and publicly affirming that the Christians worshipped one God only in the Trinity of Persons, and argues at the same rate against worship-

Calumniator himself to be a Fellow-worshipper or Sharer in the Scandal; for he that worships any piece of Timber is guilty of the thing charg'd upon us; for what signifies the Difference of Dress and Figure, while the Matter and Substance is the same, *They are wooden Gods at best*? Yet where's the difference between a plain Cross, and your *Athenian Pallas*, and *Pharian Ceres*, which are but rude unpolish'd Posts expos'd without a stroke or Impression of the Artist upon 'em? There's not an Image you erect but resembles a Cross in part; so that we who worship an entire Cross, if we do worship it, methinks have much the better on't of you, who worship but half a Cross.

I have already mention'd, how all your earthen Gods derive their Divinity from a Cross, the Image-maker putting the Clay upon Crosslike Engines before he forms it; but you likewise adore your Goddess *Victoria* in

ping of Crosses as *Tertullian* here does. *Minutius Felix* does the very same likewise, and says in the Person of *Octavius*, *Cruces etiam nec colimus, nec optamus; as for Crosses, we neither desire nor worship them*, p. 89. And our *Tertullian* is so bold a Writer, so free and open in his Confessions, and so liberal of his Satyr upon all Occasions, that he wou'd be the last Man I shou'd charge with *Reserve and Caution*. The useful Distinction between *Latria* and *Dulia* never enter'd into his Head; nor did any of the First Fathers ever imagin that there was any thing in the Christian Religion, which if discover'd might confirm the Heathens in their Idolatry: And in the very Chapter referr'd to by *Pamelius*, our Author makes it his Business to vindicate the Christians from the Charge of Idolatry, by proving Christ to be the *Logos*, the Son of God, and truly and properly God, and that this *Hypostatick* Union of the Divine with the Humane Nature, was the Foundation of that divine Worship which Christians paid to Christ; to which excellent Chapter I recommend the Reader.

this

this Form, for Crosses are the inward Part of this Deity, your Trophies being only Poles lay'd across, and cover'd over with the Spoils of the Enemy. For indeed the *Roman* Religion is entirely Martial; They worship their Standards, and swear by their Standards, and pay diviner Respects to their Standards more than to any other God whatever. All the rich Imbossments and Embroidery of Images upon your Colours, are but Necklaces to a Cross, and the Flags and Streamers are but the Robes of Crosses; and really I cannot but commend your Care and Tenderneſs in not letting your Crosses go naked, and not consecrating 'em till they are in the best Apparel. Others with a greater shew of Reason, take us for ^t Worshippers of the Sun. These

^t *Alii plane humanius & verisimilius solem credant Deum nostrum.*] Here again 'tis very observable (tho' *Pamelius* thought it his best way not to observe it) that those who objected the Worship of the Sun to Christians, did it with greater Appearance of Truth, than those who objected the worshipping a Cross. The Ground of this Slander you have in the Text; but that which I think worthy our Notice, is this, that *Tertullian* in this place expressly says, that the Christians, in his Time worshipped towards the East; he says the same likewise in his Book *ad Nat. lib. 1. cap. 13.* and so does *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom. 7.* And also *Origen*, *Hom. 5. in Numer. cap. 4. p. 210.* Their Altars were usually plac'd to the East, and when they worshipped, they always turn'd to the Altar. And therefore when *Socrates* mentions the Church of *Antioch*, in which he says the Altar stood towards the West, he withal adds, that the Situation of the Altar was inverted. *Vid. Socrat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 22.* As the Jews therefore bowed themselves down towards the Mercy-seat, so did the Christians in like manner bow their Faces towards the Holy Table, praying with the *Publican*, *God be merciful to me a Sinner*; as is evident from the *Liturgies* of *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Basil*. So little Knowledge of Antiquity, or so much wilful Disrespect to the best Christians in the purest Ages, do some Men shew in condemning the most Primitive and Reverential Ceremony of bowing towards the Table of the Lord.

send

send us to the Religion of *Persia*, tho' we are far from adoring a painted Sun, like them who carry about his Image ev'ry where upon their Bucklers. This Suspicion took its Rise from hence, because it was observ'd that Christians pray'd with their Faces towards the East: But some of you likewise out of an Affectation of adoring some of the Celestial Bodies wag your Lips towards the Rising Sun; but if we, like them, celebrate Sunday as a Festival and Day of Rejoicing, 'tis for a Reason vastly distant from that of worshipping the Sun; for we solemnize the Day after Saturday in contradistinction to those who call this Day their Sabbath, and devote it to Ease and Eating, deviating from the old *Jewish* Customs, which they are now very ignorant of.

But there is a strange Edition of our God now expos'd about the City; the Picture was publish'd first by a rascally Gladiator, very notable for his dodging Tricks in combating with Beasts, and publish'd, I say with this Inscription,—^v *Onochoetes* the God of the Christians. He had the Ears of an Ass, with a Hoof on one Foot, and holding a Book in another, and cloath'd in a Gown; we cou'd not forbear smiling both at the Name, and the Extravagance of the Figure. But they certainly ought to fall down before this biformous Deity, upon his first Appearance, who are us'd to worship such monstrous compounds,

^v *Deus Christianorum Onochoetes.*] Concerning the various Location of this Word, see *Rigaltius* upon this place, and *Voss. de Idol. l. 3. cap. 5. p. 563.*

branching out into the Heads of a Dog and a Lyon, and with Horns like a Buck and a Ram, and with Hanches like a Goat, and Shanks like a Serpent, with Wings upon their Feet and Backs.

But this is over and above, because the World shou'd see, that I have not omitted any thing industriously, and not only answer'd all the Objections, but turn'd them upon our Adversaries, and now having wip'd our selves clean of their Aspersions, I shall proceed to the Demonstration of the Christian Religion.

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning the God of Christians.

THE God we worship, is one God, that Almighty Being, who fetch'd this whole Mass of Matter with all the Elements, Bodies and Spirits which compose the Universe, purely out of nothing, by the Word of his Power which spoke 'em into Being, and by that Wisdom which rang'd 'em into this admirable Order, for a becoming Image, and glorious Expression of his Divine Majesty, which World the Greeks call by a Word implying Beauty. This same God is invisible, tho' we discern his infinite Majesty in all his Works, and whom we cannot touch, tho' represented

to us by divine Revelation, and united to us by his Spirit; and incomprehensible, tho' we come to some imperfect Ideas of him by the help of our Senses.

These are the Characters of the true God, but that God which is sensibly visible, palpable, and comprehensible, is of less value than the very Eyes that see him, and the Hands that handle him, and the Understanding that grasps him; for that which is immense is measurable by nothing but it self, the things that are, force the Knowledge of him indeed in some measure upon us, but our Capacities can never hold him. And thus by the Evidence of his Works, and the Immensity of his Being, God becomes intelligible, and at the same time passes all Understanding. And this it is that renders Men without Excuse, because they care not to retain that God in their Knowledge, whom they cannot avoid knowing. For shall I shew you him in the vast Variety of Wonders, which encompass our Beings, and preserve them, and which serve not only to fill us with Delight, but Awe and Wonder? Shall I shew you him from the inward Testimony of your very Soul; which, notwithstanding its Pressure in this Prison of the Body; notwithstanding it has been scrib'd o'er by vicious Institutions, *or inclos'd by bad Examples*; notwithstanding it has been emasculated by Lust and Concupiscence, and in Bondage to the worship of false Gods. Yet nevertheless, I say, when the Soul comes to her self, as from a Debauch, or after Sleep,

or a Fit of Sickness, and recovers her Health and Reflection, she has recourse to the Name of *the God*, and invokes him by the single Name of *the God*. This being the proper Title, and emphatically expressive of the true God ; *the great God, the good God, the God* which is the Giver of all good things, are Forms of Speech in ev'ry one's Mouth upon special Occasions. This God is appeal'd to as the Judge of the World, by saying, God sees ev'ry thing, and I recommend my self to God, and God will recompence me. O! what are all these sayings but the *Writings of God upon the Heart*, but the Testimonies of the Soul thus far by Nature Christian? And when she has these Words in her Mouth, she turns not her Eyes to the *Capitol*, but up to Heaven, as well knowing that to be the Residence of the Living God, and that he is the Author of her Being, and Heaven the Place of her Original.

C H A P. XVIII.

Concerning the Septuagint, or the Writings of the Prophets translated into Greek by the Endeavours of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

BUT in order to bring Men to a more perfect and powerful Knowledge of the divine Nature, and also of the Methods of his Wisdom, and the Laws of his Will, God has added to the Light of Nature, an Instrument in writing of these things, for the Instruction of those who are willing to be at the Pains of * inquiring after him, and desirous to find him in their Inquiries, and to believe him when found, and serve him when believ'd. For this end, the most just and innocent Persons, such who had liv'd up most faithfully to the Instructions of Nature, and consequently the most becoming, or the best prepared Subjects for larger Communications of divine Knowledge, such I say were sent out from the

* *Si qui velit de Deo inquirere, &c.*] Revelation was added for the Assistance of corrupted Nature, but then it was so wisely temper'd with Light and Darknesh, that those only who search the Scriptures with an honest Heart, in order to believe and obey what they find, will be the better for 'em. Whoever reads them with such a Disposition, will find himself necessitated to believe them; according to that of our Saviour, *If any Man will do his Will, he shall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of my self.*

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beginning with mighty Effusions of the Holy Spirit, to preach to the World, that there is but one only God, that it is he who created all things, and form'd Man out of the Earth, (for he, indeed, is the true *Prometheus*) who methodiz'd the World into this Variety of Seasons; and in succeeding Ages publish'd his divine Majesty, and Vengeance by a Deluge of Water, and Fire, and Brimstone from Heaven; who has positively determin'd the Laws he will be serv'd by, if we will serve him with Acceptance; which Laws you know not, and will not learn; but to the Observers of 'em has destin'd Rewards, who when he comes to Judgement at the last Day, having rais'd all *the y Dead*, that have been dead from the beginning of the World, and restor'd to ev'ry Man his Body, and summon'd the whole World before him to examine and render to all according to their works, he will recompence his true Worshipers with Life eternal, but will sentence the Wicked into perpetual running Streams of Fire everlasting. These things were once the Subject of our ² Wit and

¹ *Suscitatis omnibus ab initio defunctis.*] Here again we find *Tertullian*, as well as *Juslin Martyr*, expressly against Mr. *Dodwell's* Nation of a *Limited Resurrection* founded upon the *Natural Mortality of the Soul*.

² *Hæc & nos risimus aliquando, de vestris fuimus.*] From these words we find that *Tertullian* had been an Heathen, and such a one too; as had made very merry with the Christian Religion. He had as quick and pointed a Wit, and as good a Knack at Rallying and Ridicule as the best of 'em, and his Talent this way, and his Course of Life (which by his own Confession was none of the Chastest) no doubt provok'd all his Satyr against a Doctrine so new, and so cross to his Inclinations. However upon serious Consideration, and weighing Matters well together, he was overpower'd by

and Drollery, as they are now of yours, we have been Heathens, as you are, for Men are not born, but made Christians. As to those excellent Personages I mention'd, so extraordinarily assisted to preach the World into the Notion of one only God; They were called Prophets from their Office of foretelling things to come. The Oracles they deliver'd, and the Miracles they wrought for the confirmation of divine Truth, were consign'd to Writing, and the Books treasur'd up, and are preserv'd to this Day; for the most learned of the *Ptolemys*, surnamed, *Philadelphus*, and the most curious Man living in all sorts of Literature, and rivalling ^a *Pisistratus*, I suppose, in the Glories

by the Goodness and Evidence of divine Truth, in spite of his Passions. And the Libertines and Unbelievers of our own Age (who are by no means before-hand with our *Tertullian* either in point of Wit or Reason) would they but as impartially examine the Proofs of Christianity, they would find themselves as unable to withstand them, as our Author confesses himself to be.

^a *Pisistratum opinor, &c.*] The Libraries of *Ptolemy* and *Pisistratus* the Tyrant are both mention'd by *A. Gellius*, lib. 6. cap. 17. but *Tertullian* speaks doubtfully, whether *Ptolemy Philadelphus* erected his Library in imitation of *Pisistratus* or no, and not without Reason; because it is as probable, that the King of *Pergamus* in imitation of whom *Ptolemy* set up his Library was *Eumenes*. All the ancient Fathers have believed after *Josephus* and *Philo*, that the Version not only of the *Pentateuch* but of the whole Bible commonly called the *Septuagint* was compos'd by seventy two Jews sent to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who desir'd to have the Jewish Books in Greek, to adorn his magnificent Library at *Alexandria*, under the care and supervisal of *Demetrius Phalereus* an Athenian. What the *Criticks* have since urg'd against this Opinion of the Fathers, and against the Authority of *Aristæus* and *Aristobulus*, upon whom (say they) the Fathers took this Story in trust, would be too tedious to insert here, and therefore I refer the Reader to the learned *Du Pin's* Preliminary Dissertation about the Authors of the Bible, Vol. 1. Sect. 3. p. 35. However, I cannot but say, that I do verily believe that there was a Greek Version of the Bible made

Glories of a Library, among other choice Pieces which he hunted after, fam'd either for their Antiquity, or the Rarities they contain'd, by the Advice of his Library keeper *Demetrius Phalereus* the most approv'd Grammarian and Critick of his time, sent to the Jews for their sacred Writings in their own Mother-tongue, and which were in their Hands alone ; for the Prophets were rais'd up out of this Nation, and the Prophecies address'd to them, as a peculiar People, chosen of God out of respect to their Forefathers. Those who are now called *Jews* went heretofore by the Name of *Hebrews*, and from hence is the Title of the Hebrew Tongue. The *Jews* gratify'd the King in the Request, and not only sent him their Bible, but also for fear their Language shou'd not be understood, sent seventy two Interpreters to translate it into Greek. This is attested by *Menedemus* the famous Assertor of a Providence, who join'd with the *Jews* in this Notion, and was a great Admirer of their Writings. We have likewise the Testimony of *Aristaus* for the truth of this, who compos'd a Book in Greek upon the same Subject. And in *Ptolemy's* Library near the Temple of Se-

in the Time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* ; for to me it does not seem credible, that the Authors of the Books which pass under the Titles of *Aristaus* and *Aristobulus* entirely forg'd the whole Story, much more reasonable is it to believe, that these Authors only dress'd up a certain matter of Fact with some Additions of their own. *P. Simon* conjectures that this Version was called the *Septuagint*, because it was approv'd by the *Sanedrim*, but this like most of his Conjectures is wild, and without any Foundation. See likewise *B. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

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rapis, among other Curiosities are these sacred Writings shewn to this Day. And besides all this, the Jews frequently and publickly on ev'ry Sabbath read the same; they are tolerated to do it, and pay a Tax for the Toleration. Whoever hears them, will find the worship of one God, and whoever will be at the pains to understand 'em, will find himself necessitated to believe 'em.

C H A P. XIX.

Concerning the Antiquity of the Writings of the Prophets.

ONE great Argument for the Authority of these sacred Writings, is the Greatness of their ^b Antiquity; an Argument you your selves are pleas'd to make use of for the

^b *Primam Instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa Antiquitas vindicat.*] The strongest and shrewdest Adversary Christianity ever met with, was the Philosopher *Porphyrius*. He was a Man too well vers'd in Antiquity to depend upon the vain Pretences of the *Grecians*, and therefore made it his Business to search after the most ancient Records, to find something to match the Antiquity of *Holy Scripture*. And after all his search, he could find no Author to vye with *Moses* but *Sanchoniathon*; and yet when he had made the most of him, he was forc'd to allow him younger than *Moses*, tho' he made him older than the *Trojan Wars*. Nay, he goes about to prove the truth of *Sanchoniathon's* History by the Agreement of it with that of *Moses*, concerning the *Jews* both as to their Names and Places, and so this *Goliath* fell by his own Sword, and defended the Cause he design'd to destroy. *Vid. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. c. 8. p. 285.*

defence of your own Religion ; I say therefore, that before any of your publick Monuments and Inscriptions, before any of your Forms of Government, before the oldest of your Books, and the Original of many Nations, and Foundation of many famous Cities, and the very grayest of Historians. And lastly, before the Invention^c of Letters, (the Interpreters of things; and the most faithful Repositories of Action) and hitherto, methinks, I have say'd but little, I say therefore before the very Being of your Gods, your Temples, Oracles, and Sacrifices, were the Writings of one of our Prophets extant, which are the Treasury of the *Jewish* Religion, and by consequence of the Christian. If you have heard of *Moses* the Prophet, I'll tell you his Age, he was cotemporary with *Inachus* the first King of the *Argives*, older by three hundred and ninety three Years than *Danaus* the

^c *Ipsas denique effigies literarum, &c.*] Before the very Use or Knowledge of Letters. It is generally acknowledg'd by *Herodotus*, *Philostratus*, and the most learned of the Greeks, that the Grecians receiv'd their very Letters from the Phenicians by *Cadmus*, and *Parus* the Author of the Greek Chronicle in the *Marmira Arundeliana* makes *Cadmus's* coming into Greece, to be in the time of *Hellen* the Son of *Deucalion*, which according to *Cappellus* was Anno Mun. 2995. tho' Mr. *Selden* sets it something lower, in the eleventh Generation after *Moses*, about the time of *Samuel*; and that the Greek Alphabet came from the Phenician or Hebrew, is evident from the very Sound of the Names of the Letters, as well as their Form and Order. Thus the Greek *αλφα* answers to the Hebrew, *aleph*, *βητα* to *beth*, *γαμμα* to *gimel*, *δελτα* to *daleth*, &c. all which both as to Form, Order, and Name you may see in a Diagram exhibited by the great *Bochart*, *Geogr. lib. 1. cap. 20*. And for any thing of History in Greece, we meet with nothing before the beginning of the *Olympiads*, when the World was above 3000 Years standing.

oldest

oldest in your Histories. About a thousand Years before the Destruction of *Troy*, or as others reckon about ^d five hundred Years before *Homer*; the rest of the Prophets, tho' later than *Moses*, yet the latest of 'em fall in with some of the first of your Sages, Lawgivers and Historians. The Proof of these things is not a matter of much Difficulty, but only it would swell this Discourse beyond the Bounds of an Apology, it is more tedious than hard; for abundance of Volumes are to be carefully search'd into, to make the Computation, by a different Gesture of the ^e Fingers. We must

^d *Quingentis amplius & Homerum.*] Five hundred Years before *Homer*. *Josephus* in his first Book against *Appion*, says, that the *Grecians* of all Nations, tho' they boasted so much of Antiquity, had the least Reasons to do it; for they were but of yesterday in respect of the *Ægyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Phenicians*, and that notwithstanding they boasted of the *Invention of Letters* from *Cadmus*, yet could they not produce any Inscription or Sign of Letters in his time, and that *Homer* was the most ancient Book extant among them, nor was this left in Writing, but learnt only by heart like other Songs, and therefore we find so many Fragments and Incongruities in his Works, when they came to be committed to writing from bare Memory. But herein *Josephus* is thought to have strain'd the Point too far, because of the *Inscription of Amphitrio* at Thebes, in the Temple of *Apollo Ismenius* in the old *Ionick Letters*, and two others of the same Age to be seen in *Herodotus*, and for some other Reasons. *Vid. Bochart. Geog. lib. 1. c. 20.* But however this be, certain it is, that we find no Records of History in Greece till the World was full 3000 Years of Age and more.

^e *Multis instrumentis cum digitorum suppatariis gesticulis adsidendum est.*] Abundance of Volumes are to be search'd into to make the Computation, by a different Gesture of the Fingers. The Multiplication Table perform'd by a different Gesture of the Fingers is now almost known by ev'ry Body; but whether it was in use in *Tertullian's* time, and refer'd to here by him, I will not say, but surely he has exactly express'd it. And the Reason for calling the Figures from 1 to 9, *Digits*, I believe, was from this Computation by the Fingers.

unlock the Archives of the most ancient People, of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* and *Phenicians*: We must appeal to the Writers of those Countries who oblig'd Posterity with the Knowledge of these things, namely, ^f *Manethon* the *Egyptian*, *Berosus* the *Chaldean*, *Iromus* the *Phenician*, King of *Tyre*, and their Followers, *Ptolemy* of *Mendes*, and *Menander* the *Ephesian*, and *Demetrius Phalereus*, and King *Juba*, and *Appion*, and *Thallus*, and *Josephus* a Jewish Writer of Jewish Antiquities, who either approv'd these Authors, or discover'd their Errors. We must also compare the Registers of *Greece*, to see what things were done, and when, in order to adjust the successive Periods, and Links of Time, which is necessary to clear up History, and set Actions in their proper Light: And yet methinks, I have done this already in some measure, and prov'd in part what I propos'd, by giving you here a sprinkling of those Authors, where you may see the Proofs at large: But I conclude it better, not to pursue this Point farther, for fear that by being in haste, either I shou'd not say enough to set the matter beyond dispute, or else by pursuing it particularly, I shou'd deviate too far from the main Design of this Apology.

^f *Manethon Ægyptius, & Berosus Chaldeus, & Iromus Phenix, Sæctatores quoque eorum Mendesium Ptolomæus, & Menander Ephesius & Demetrius Phalereus.*] Concerning this Passage, and the Antiquity and Credibility of these Historians, I desire the Reader to consult *Bochartus de Lingua Phenic. & Pun. lib. 2. cap. 17.* and likewise *B. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. lib. 1. cap. 2, 3, &c.*

C H A P. XX.

That the Accomplishment of the Prophecies in Holy Scriptures, prove them to be of Authority Divine.

IF for the Reasons aforesaid I have been shorter than you might expect in my proofs of the Antiquity of Holy Scripture, I shall make you amends now with Proofs of much greater Importance; I will shew you the Majesty, the God that speaks in these Writings; I will demonstrate the Divineness of their Authority, if you are still in doubt about their Antiquity. Nor need I be long upon this Article, or send you a great way for Instruction; the World before you, this present Age, and the Events therein shall be your Instructors. For there is nothing of Moment now done, but what has been foretold; and what we ourselves see, our Forefathers have heard from the Prophets. They have heard, that Cities shou'd be swallowed up of Earthquakes, and Islands invaded by Seas, and Nations torn in Pieces by foreign and intestine Wars, and Kingdom split against Kindgom, and Famine and Pestilence take their Marches thro' the World, and ev'ry Country swarm with proper Evils; that the Beasts of the Mountains shou'd lay waste the Plains, that the Weak and Mighty shou'd rise and fall by turns, that Justice shou'd grow scarce, and Iniquity abound, that Arts and
Sciences

Sciences shou'd lie uncultivated, and the Seasons of the Year be unkindly, and the Elements take an exorbitant Course, and the Order of Nature be disturbed with Monsters and Prodigies, all these things were written before-hand for our Admonition. For while we suffer, we read our Sufferings, while we reflect upon the Prophecies, we find 'em a fulfilling; and this I take to be a proper and most sensible Proof of the divine Authority of these Writings, to feel their Predictions verifying upon our selves. Hence it is that we come to be so infallibly certain of many things not yet come to pass, from the Experience we have of those that are; because those were presignify'd by the same Spirit with these, which we see fulfilling ev'ry Day. The very Words and Characters of both were indited by the Impulse of the very same Spirit; and this prophetick Spirit sees ev'ry thing always and at once, tho' Men see only by Pieces and Successions of Time, and are forc'd to distinguish between the beginning of a Prophecy, and the fulfilling it, to separate Present from Future, and Past from Present.

Wherein, therefore I beseech you now, are Christians to blame, for believing things to come, who have two such *Motives to believe*, or two such *mighty Pillars to lean upon*, as the past and present Accomplishment of the Predictions contained in Holy Scripture.

C H A P. XXI.

*Concerning the Birth and Crucifixion of
Jesus Christ.*

BUT because I have already declar'd the Christian Religion to have its Foundation in the most ancient of Monuments, the sacred Writings of the Jews; and yet many among you well know us to be a novel Sect risen up in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and we our selves confess the Charge; and because you shou'd not take Umbrage, that we shelter our selves only under the venerable Pretext of this old Religion, which is tolerated among you, and because we differ from them, not only in point of Age, but also in the Observation of Meats, Festivals, Circumcision, &c. nor communicate with them so much as in Name, all which seems to look very odd, if we are Servants of the same God, as the Jews. Therefore I think it necessary to explain my self a little particularly upon this Head; and especially because it is in every one's Mouth, that Christ was a Man, and a Man too condemned to death by the very Jews, which may naturally lead any one at first Hearing into a Mistake, that we are Worshipers of a Man, and not of the God of the Jews. However, this their wickedly ungrateful Treatment of Christ, makes us not ashamed of our Master; so far from it, that 'tis the Joy and Triumph of our Souls,

Souls, to be called by our Lord's Name, and condemned for it ; and yet for all this we think no otherwise of God, than the Jews did. To make out this, I am oblig'd to say something of Christ as God.

The Jews once were a People in such Favour with God, upon the account of their Forefathers Faith and Piety, which was the Root of all their Greatness, both with respect to the encrease of their Families, and the Advance of a Kingdom. And their Happiness was so unparallel'd, that God himself did 'em the Honour even with his own Mouth to prescribe 'em Laws, whereby they might secure his Omnipotence on their side, and never turn it against 'em : But how the degenerate Children upon the Stock of *Abraham's* Faith, and in confidence of their Forefather's Virtue, how egregiously they provoked God by deviating from his own positive Institutions, into Prophaness and Idolatry, altho' the Jews themselves will not confess this, yet the present Calamities of that People are a sad and standing Testimony against 'em. For they are now a ² dispersed,

^c *Dispersi, palabundi, & soli ac cali sui Extorres, &c.*] *Justin Martyr* in his first *Apology*, *Señ. 62.* takes notice, that it was a capital Crime for a Jew so much as to set a Foot upon the *Holy Land*. And *Eusebius* from *Aristo Pellaus* urges likewise, that by the Law and Constitutions of *Adrian*, the *Jews* were prohibited to cast even their Eyes towards *Jerusalem*. *Eus. lib. 4. Hist. Eccles. cap. 6.* *Tertullian* observes the same here ; and so likewise in his Book against the *Jews*, *cap. 13.* upon which you will see some Remarks by *Dr. Grabe*, in his *Spicileg. Pat. Sec. 2. p. 131.* and certainly the distinguishing Misery of this vagabond People even to this Day is a strange living Monument of the divine Wrath ; a Mark set upon them by God for the Murder of his Christ, and their obdurate Infidelity.

ſperſed, vagabond People, baniſh'd Country
 and Climate, ſtrolling about the World with-
 out any Shew of Government, either Divine
 or Humane, and ſo completely miſerable, that
 they have not the poor Privilege to viſit the
 Holy Land like Strangers, or ſet a Foot up-
 on their native Soil : And while the ſacred
 Writings did fore-threaten theſe Calamities,
 they did likewise continually inculcate, that
 the time wou'd come about the laſt Days,
 when out of ev'ry Nation and Country God
 wou'd chooſe himſelf a People that ſhou'd
 ſerve him more faithfully, upon whom he wou'd
 ſhed a greater Meaſure of Grace in proportion to
 the Merits of the Founder of this new Worſhip.
 The Proprietor therefore of this Grace, and
 the Maſter of this Inſtitution, This Sun of
 Righteouſneſs, and Tutor of Mankind, was
 declared the Son of God ; but not ſo, that
 This Begotten of God might bluſh at the Name
 of Son, or the Mode of his Generation : For
 it was not from any inceſtuous Mixture of
 Brother and Siſter, not from any Violation of
 a God with his own Daughter, or another
 Man's Wife, in the diſguiſe of a Serpent, or a

Infidelity. But then it ought alſo to be obſerved that as God in
 Judgment hath ſcatter'd them thro' all Nations, and not ſuffered
 them to have a Foot of free Land in all the World ; yet he hath
 preſerved their Name and Nation in all Places, as diſtinct from all
 other People, as if they had continued in the *Holy Land* ; in which
 his Providence and Goodneſs is conſpicuous, that according to
 the Prophecies at his appointed time, the Veil may be taken away
 from their Faces, that they may look upon him whom they have
 pierced, and be converted to that Jeſus whom they have crucified,
 and ever ſince blaſphemed.

Bull, or a Shower of Gold. These are the Modes of Generation with your *Jove*, and the Offspring of Deities you worship; but the Son of God we adore, had a Mother indeed, but a Mother without Uncleaness, without even That which the Name of Mother seems to imply, for she was a pure Virgin. But I shall first set forth the Nature of his Substance, in order to make you apprehend the manner of his Nativity.

I have already said, that God reared this Fabric of the World out of nothing, by his Word, Wisdom, or Power; and 'tis evident that your Sages of old were of the same Opinion, that the λόγος, that is, the Word, or the Wisdom was the Maker of the Universe, for ^h Zeno determines the *Logos* to be the Creator and Adjuster of every thing in Nature. The same *Logos* he affirms to be called by the Name of Fate, God, Mind of *Jove*, and Necessity of all things. ⁱ *Cleanthes* will have the Author of the World to be a Spirit which per-

^h Hunc enim Zeno determinat Facilitatorem.] *Lactantius*, lib. 4. *Secl.* 9. p. 186. Justly says, that the Term λόγος is much more expressive of the Maker of the World, than the Latin *Verbum*, or *Sermo*, as signifying both the Word and the Wisdom of God. And had we still continu'd the *Logos* instead of the Word in our English Translation, it had methinks been a Term more Majestick, and more expressive of the Personality of Christ, than the Word. This *Logos* was preach'd up by Zeno as the Disposer of Nature, and the Framer of the World, and was call'd sometimes Fate, God, Mind of *Jove*, &c. says, *Lactantius* in the place above cited, just as our Author speaks here; concerning this Zeno, the Præceptor of *Antigonus*, and Founder of the *Stoicks*. See *Diog. Laer.* l. 7.

ⁱ Hæc Cleanthes in Spiritum congerit.] Concerning the Doctrine of *Cleanthes*, Zeno's Disciple. *Vid. Lactant.* lib. 1. *Secl.* 5. p. 12.

vades ev'ry Part of it. And we Christians also, do affirm a Spirit to be the proper Substance of the *Logos*, by whom all things were made, in which he subsisted before he was ^k spoken out, and was the Wisdom that assisted at the Creation, and the Power that presided over the whole Work. The *Logos* or Word issuing forth from that spiritual Substance at the Creation of the World, and generated by that Issuing or Progression, is for this Reason called the Son of God, and the God, from his Unity of Substance with God the Father, for God is a Spirit. An imperfect Image of this you have in the Derivation of a Ray from the Body of the Sun ; for this Ray is a Part without any Diminution of the whole, but the Sun is always in the Ray, because the Ray is always from the Sun ; nor is the Substance separated, but only extended. Thus is it in some Measure in the eternal Generation of the *Logos* ; he is a Spirit of a Spirit, a

^k *Cui & Sermo insit Pronuncianti, &c.*] There is a threefold Generation of the *Son of God* frequently mention'd by the Primitive Writers. The First, is the true and proper Generation of the *Son*, which was from the Father before all Worlds. The Second, is the Progression of the *Logos* from his Father at the Creation, which they call *πρωτόγονος*, *ἐξ ὁμοίου*, &c. The Third, was at his Incarnation in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin overshadowed by the Power of the most High. The Second Kind of Generation, is that which *Tertullian* hints at in the words cited. For the fuller Satisfaction in this Point I advise the Reader to consult *Bishop Bull's incomparable Defence of the Nicene Faith*, c. v. concerning the Coeternity of the *Son*. And so likewise, cap. 7. sect. 5. where he will find several things in this Place clear'd, and our Author vindicated beyond Exception, as to the Doctrine of the Consubstantiality of the *Son*.

¹ God of God, as one Light is generated by another; the Original, Parent Light, remaining entire and undiminished, notwithstanding the Communication of it self to many other Lights. Thus it is that the *Logos* which came forth from God, is both God and the Son of God, and those Two are One. Hence it is, that a Spirit of a Spirit, or a God of God, makes Another in mode of Subsistence, but not in Number; in Order of Nature, but not in Numericalness or Identity of Essence; and so the Son is subordinate to the Father as he comes from him as the Principle, but is never separated. This Ray of God then descended, as it was foretold, upon a certain Virgin, and in her Womb was incarnated, and being there fully form'd the God-man, was born into the World; the divine and humane Nature making up this Person, as Soul and Body does one Man. The Flesh being wrought and perfected by a divine Spirit, was nurs'd and grew up to the

¹ *De Deo Deus, ut Lumen de Lumine.*] This Similitude of a Ray from the Sun, or a Light from a Light, is not to be look'd upon as a full and adequate Illustration of the Mode, how the Son of God was generated by the Father, nor will any thing in Nature give us a perfect Representation of it. 'Tis what *Justin Martyr* and others have chosen to represent it by; nor do I know a better to make this incomprehensible Mystery apprehended, which is all they drive at; and it serves sufficiently to declare their Sense and Notion of it, namely, that Christ from all eternity did coexist with the Father, as Light does with the Sun, that he was *God of God*, without any Diminution of the divine Substance, as one Light is kindled from another, &c. 'Tis evident likewise from this Expression, of *God of God, as Light of Light*, what the Notion of the Fathers was about the Divinity of Christ before the establishment of the *Nicene Fathers*, who make use of this Expression in their Creed.

Stature of a Man, and then address'd the Jews, and preach'd and work'd Miracles among them ; and this is the Christ, the God of Christians. If you please now, you may receive this great Truth in the Nature of a Fable like one of yours, till I have given you my Proofs ; tho' 'tis a Truth that cou'd not be unknown to those among you, who maliciously dress'd up their own Inventions on purpose to destroy it. The Jews likewise full well knew from their Prophets, that Christ was to come, and they are now in expectation of him ; and the great Clashing between us and them, is chiefly upon this very Account, that they do not believe him already come. For there being two Advents of Christ described in the Prophets, the First which is discharg'd and over, namely his State of Humiliation, and suffering in human Flesh. The Second, which is at hand too in the Conclusion of the World, in which he will exert his Majesty, and come in a full Explication of divine Glory. By not understanding the First, they fix'd only upon the second Advent, which is describ'd in the most pompous and glaring Metaphors, and which struck the carnal Fancy with the most agreeable Impressions. And it was the just Judgment of God upon them for their Sins that withheld their Understandings from seeing this first Coming, which had they understood, they had believ'd, and by believing had obtain'd Salvation. And this judicial Blind-

ness they read of in their ⁿ Prophets, that their Understandings shou'd be darkned, and their Eyes and Ears of no Advantage for their Conversion.

Him therefore they cou'd not see to be a God in the humble Disguise of a Man; yet seeing the Miracles he did, they cry'd him down for a Conjuror, for dealing with the Devil, when he was turning the Devils out of all their Possessions at a word speaking; and with the same Word bid Sight return to the Blind, and it return'd, and cleansed the Lepers, and new braced the Paralytick Joynts, and spoke the Dead to Life, and made the Elements obey, stilling the Storms, and walking upon the Seas, and demonstrating himself to be the *Logos* of God, that is, the Ancient first begotten Word, invested with Power and Wisdom, and supported by the Spirit, at whose Doctrine the very Doctors of the Law stood aghast, and the Chief among the Jews were so exasperated against him, especially at seeing such Numbers of People thronging after him, that at length by mere Violence and Importunity of Remonstrating, they extorted Sentence against him to be crucify'd from *Pontius Pilate* then Governour of Syria under *Tiberius*. And all this Christ himself foretold they wou'd do, which I'll grant you to be an Argument not so considerable for the Authority of his Mis-

ⁿ *Make the Heart of this People fat, and make their Ears heavy, and shut their Eyes, least they see with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Heart, and convert and be healed. Isaiah. cap. 6. 10.*

sion, had not all the Prophets long before concurred in every Particular; at length being fast'ned to the Cross, and having cry'd out and commended his Spirit into the Hands of his Father, he gave up the Ghost of his own accord, and so prevented the Executioner's breaking his Bones by dying in his own Time, and fulfilled a Prophecy by so doing. Moreover in the same Moment he dismissed Life, the ° Light departed from the Sun, and the World was benighted at Noon-day, and those Men who acknowledg'd this Eclipse, but were unacquainted with the Prophecies that foretold it upon Christ's Death, and finding it impossible to be solv'd by the Laws of Nature, at last roundly deny'd the Fact; and yet this Wonder of the World you have related, and the Relation preserv'd in your Archives to this Day. Christ then being taken down from the Cross, and lay'd in a Sepulchre, the Jews beset it round with a strong Guard of Soldiers, forearming them with the strictest Caution, that his Disciples shou'd not come and steal away the Body unawares; because he had foretold that he wou'd rise again from the dead on the Third Day. But lo! on the Third Day, a sudden Earthquake arose, and the huge Stone was rolled from the Mouth

° *Deliquium utique putaverunt.*] An Eclipse of the Sun at a full Moon (as this was) is by the known Laws of Nature demonstratively impossible, and this it was made it so much taken notice of by the ancient Astronomers; by *Dionysius the Areopagite*, *Apolllophanes the Sophist*, by *Phlegon in his Olympiads*; &c. Vid. Paraphrase of *Zephyrus*, and the Notes of *Pamelius*, and especially the Annotations of *Grotius* upon *Matt. cap. 27. v. 45*, where this Passage of *Tertullian* is taken notice of.

of the Sepulchre, and the Guard struck with Fear and Confusion ; not one Disciple appearing at the Action, and nothing found in the Sepulchre, but the Spoils of Death, the Linen Cloaths he was buried in. Nevertheless, the Chief Priests, whose Interest it was to set such a wicked Lie on foot, in order to reclaim the People from a Faith which must end in the utter Ruin of their Incomes and Authority among 'em, gave out that his Disciples came privily and stole him away. For after the Resurrection Christ thought not fit to make a publick Entry among the People, because he wou'd not violently redeem such obstinate Wretches from Error, and that a Faith which proposes infinite Rewards shou'd labour under some Difficulties, that Believing might be a Virtue, and not a Necessity. But with some of his Disciples he did eat and drink Forty Days in Galilee a Province of Judea, ¹ instructing them in all they shou'd teach, and then having

¹ *Nec ille se in vulgus eduxit, &c.*] These and the following Words give the true Reason, why Christ after his Resurrection wou'd not shew himself publickly to all his Crucifiers. Because he wou'd not bestow upon such obstinate Offenders, who had abus'd all his former Miracles, such an Evidence as must in a manner have forc'd them to believe, whether they wou'd or no ; and therefore it is said in the *Acts of the Apostles*, cap. 10. v. 40. *Him God raised up the Third Day, and shewed him openly, not to all the People, but unto Witnesses chosen before of God, even to us who did eat and drink with him after he arose from the dead.*

² *Docens eos quæ docerent, dehinc Ordinatis eis ad Officium Prædicandi, &c.*] It is very evident in this place, that our Author makes a notorious distinction between Christ's teaching his Apostles in what they shou'd instruct the World, and his Ordaining them to the Office and Authority of Preaching those Instructions ; and as Christ was sent by his Father, so by the same Authority did he commission his Apostles to ordain others, and promises to be with 'em

having ordain'd 'em to the Office of Preaching those Instructions all over the World, he was parted from them by a Cloud; and so received up before 'em into Heaven, much more truly than what your *Proculus's* report of *Romulus*, and some others of your deified Kings. *Pilate*, who in his Conscience was Christian, sent *Tiberius Cesar* an Account of all these Proceedings relating to Christ; and the *CÆSARS* had been Christians too, cou'd the Ages have born it, if either such *Cæsars* had not been necessary and unavoidable in such Times, or cou'd Christians have come to be *Cæsars*. The Apostles in obedience to their Master's Command, went about preaching thro' the World, persecuted by the Jews to the last degree, but suffering victoriously in full Assurance of the Truth; but at length the Infidels taking the Advantage of the barbarous *Nero's* Reign, they were forced to sow the Christian Religion in their own Christian Blood. But I shall take an Occasion by and by, to produce such Witnesses as you your selves must think Authentick for the Truth of the Christian Religion, for I shall produce the Gods you worship, vouching for the God of Christians. This must needs be surprizing you'll say, that I shou'd bring in those to convert

'em to the end of the World. And therefore to say that the People have a natural Right to ordain their own Ministers, is in effect to say they have a natural Right to do a thing when Christ has determin'd to the contrary: And because the Apostles gave the People a Liberty to choose whom they wou'd have for Deacons, therefore they had a Right to ordain 'em to that Office by Prayer and Imposition of their own Hands,

you to the Faith, for whose sake it is that you are Infidels. In the mean time you are to look upon this, as the Series and Oeconomy of the Christian Religion. I have laid before you an Account of the Original of our Sect, of our Name, and of the Author of it; let no Man therefore now throw such Dirt and Infamy upon Christians, nor harbour an Opinion that this Account is not according to Truth: For 'tis not reasonable to believe, that any one shou'd think it allowable to ^r lye for his Religion; for ev'ry Man by saying he adores one, while in his mind he adores another, denies the very Deity he adores, and translates divine Honour from his own God to that other, and by such a Translation unworships the God he worships: But we say we are Christians, and say it to the whole World, under the Hands of the ^r Executioner, and

^r *Quia nec fas est ulli de sua Religione mentiri.*] Pameliuſ brings forth this Paſſage in great State, 'as if it made notably for the *Papiſts* againſt certain *Hereticks* of his time, who juſtify'd Lying for their Religion. I do not know what *Hereticks* he means, and if there be any that do ſo, they certainly do very ill, and againſt the Apoſtle's Rule of *not doing Evil that Good may come of it*; but had he conſider'd ſome certain *Caſuiſts* of their own, he might have ſpar'd this Reflection.

^s *Dicimus & palam dicimus, & vobis torquentibus lacerati & cruenti vociferamur, Deum colimus per Chriſtum.*] The Primitive Chriſtians were not aſham'd or afraid to Proclaim, to Proclaim it to the whole World, and under the Hands of the Executioner, and weltring in their own Blood, that they worſhipp'd God thro' Chriſt. Do we ever read of any Generation of Men ſo greedy of Martyrdom before, who thought it long till they were upon the Rack, and ſo chearful and ſtedfaſt under the moſt intolerable Torments? What a reſtleſs Poſture of Mind does *Socrates* betray, the wiſeſt and beſt of Heathens? With what Miſgivings and Fits of Hope and Fear, does he deliver himſelf in that moſt famous Diſcourſe, ſuppos'd to be made by him a little before his Death, about a future State? *Vid. Plat.*

and in the midst of all the Tortures you exercise us with to unsay it. Torn and mangled and cover'd o'er in our own Blood, we cry out as loud as we are able to cry, That we are Worshippers of God thro' Christ: Believe this Christ, if you please, to be a Man, but let me tell you, he is the only Man, by whom and in whom God will be known and worshipped to Advantage. But to stop the Mouth of Jews I have this to answer, that they receiv'd ev'ry Tittle of their Religion from God by the Mediation and Ministry of the Man *Moses*; and as to the *Greeks*, did not *Orpheus* upon Mount *Pieria*, and his Disciple *Museus* at *Athens*, and *Melampus* at *Argos*, and *Tro-*

Plat. Phæd. Do we find that *Phædo*, *Cebes*, *Crito*, and *Simmius*, or any of his greatest Friends, who were present at his Death, condemning his Murther in the *Areopagus*, and asserting the Worship of one God as the *Christians* did? Did not *Plato* afterwards dodge about, and disguise himself under feigned Names, and say and unsay the most excellent Truths, for the Security of his Skin? And did not all the *Academicks* afterwards keep much upon the Reserve, for fear that *Dogmatizing* shou'd send 'em after their Master *Socrates*? How then comes it to pass, that *Christians*, and *Christians* only shou'd dare to suffer at this rate above all the Philosophers in the World, and that the same Generation of Men shou'd hold on suffering for 400 Years together till they had subdu'd the World by dying for their Religion? Had not *Christians* the same Flesh and Blood, the same Sense and Feeling as other Men? and did they not desire Happiness as much as other Men? If so, then nothing but the clearest, the most powerful, and convincing Arguments cou'd possibly engage such Numbers of Men in a particular Worship, and support 'em under it in defiance of Death in the most shocking Circumstances. And with what Face cou'd a *Christian* offer to persuade a *Heathen* to embrace such a persecuted Religion without the clearest Conviction imaginable? This Argument from the Primitive Sufferings, and from the manner of them, for the Truth of Christianity I insist upon the longer, not only because it is strong in itself, and so often appealed to in these Apologies, but because to me it is more moving, and apter to take hold of the Heart, than all the speculative Proofs in Nature.

phonus in *Baotia*, were not all these Men, who initiated these several Countrys in their Religion ? And to turn my Eyes upon you, who are the Masters of the World, was it not the Man *Numa Pompilius*, who bound on these heavy Burthens of Ceremony and Superstition upon the *Romans* ? Why then, I pray you, must not Christ be tolerated to give the World a Commentary of that ^t Divinity which is his own, properly his and his alone ? He who did not begin his Government upon a wild uncultivated People, and astonish them into Subjection and Civility by a Multitude of Imaginary Gods, after the example of your *Numa*, but addresses the most polished and brightest People in the World, a People blinded and lost in their own Philosophy and Wisdom, and helps 'em to Eyes to see their Folly and the way of Truth.

Inform your selves carefully therefore, whether the Divinity of Christ is not the true Divinity you ought to worship, and which if once entertain'd new makes the old Man, and forms him to ev'ry Virtue, and consequently all Divinities but Christ ought to be renounced as false, and those especially in the first place,

* *Licuerit & Christo commentari Divinitatem, rem propriam.*] Here 'tis observable that *Tertullian* calls the Divinity of Christ, *Rem propriam*, an Expression which denotes our Saviour to be as truly and really God, as Man can be said to be the *Proprietor* of any thing in the Sense of the Law. Thus when our Saviour said, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work*, the Jews sought to kill him, because *πατήρ ἑδίου ἐλεσε τὸ θεόν*, *He said God was his own Proper Father*, in a Sense incommunicable to any Creature, making himself equal to God, *John* cap. 5. v. 17, 18.

which

which lie lurking under the Names and Images of dead Men, and by lying Signs and Wonders and Oracles pass for Gods, when in truth they are but Devils, as I am now going to prove.

C H A P. XXII.

Concerning Dæmons, their Power and their Ways of Operation.

WE say then that there are a certain Kind of Spiritual Substances existing in Nature, which go by the Name of Dæmons, and the Name is not of a Modern Stamp; the Name and the Thing both being well known to the Philosophers, for *Socrates* undertook nothing without the privy Council of his Dæmon: And no wonder, when this Familiar is said to have kept him close Company from his Childhood to the Conclusion of his Life, continually no doubt ^u injecting Dissuasives from Virtue.

^u *Dehortatorium plane a bono.*] The words immediately before concerning this Dæmon of *Socrates*, are almost exactly transcrib'd by *Lactantius*, lib. 2. p. 105. However, I cannot but say, that this Character contradicts all the Accounts we have concerning the Practice of this Dæmon, from such Persons, as were best able to understand the matter of Fact, who represent it quite contrary to this Character of *Tertullian*. Nothing occasion'd more Speculations and Amusement in the time of *Socrates* than his Dæmon, insomuch that one of his Friends went to consult the Oracle about it. *Vid. Plutarch* of the Dæmon of *Socr.* Nor wou'd *Socrates* make *Simias* any Answer upon the Question, and therefore the rest of his Friends desisted for the future

Virtue. The Poets likewise talk of Dæmons, and even the illiterate Vulgar frequently apply to 'em, when they are in the Cursing Mood ;
for

future from asking him any more about it. But *Zenophon* and *Plato*, who certainly were two of his nearest Friends, and best understood this matter, were far from imagining, as some since have done, that this *Dæmon* was nothing more than his natural Sagacity, or Understanding. The Sum of the Story, as we have it in the Dialogue, entitul'd *Theages*, and elsewhere, is this ; The Directions of this *Dæmon* were only *Dehortatory*, but not from Good, as *Tertullian* thinks, but from Evil. The *Dæmon* never advis'd him to do, but only to forbear an Action, when it would be of ill Consequence either to *Socrates*, or his Friends ; he heard a Voice, which was the Sign to forbear ; when he heard it not, it was always his Warrant to proceed ; so that one wou'd be apt from hence to conclude, that the Voice was not articulate, but a bare Sign only. And *Zenophon* reports, that of all the numberless Predictions (of which according to *Tully*, *Antipater* collected a large Volume) of Disasters that wou'd befall his Friends, not one of them fail'd in the Event. But in *Plato's* *Apology of Socrates*, *Cambr. Edit. Sect 21.* is very remarkable, where we have a very plain and strange Account of the Operations and Nature of this *Dæmon*. 'Tis very strange (says *Socrates* addressing his Judges with incomparable Calmness just before his Execution) That the Propheetick Voice of the *Dæmon*, which never fail'd before of dissuading me in matters of the smallest Moment, where the Consequence wou'd be ill, εἰ τι μέλλοιμι μὴ ὀρθῶς πράξαι, &c. shou'd now in the worst of Evils according to your Opinion be silent, and neither when I left my House in the Morning, nor when I went to the Bar, nor all the time I have been pleading here, shou'd ever give me the wonted Signal, εἰ ὅτι ὅπως ἐκ ἡναντιώθη ἄν μοι τὸ εὖθὺς σημεῖον, εἰ μὴ τι ἐμελλον ἐγὼ ἀγαθὸν πράξαι ; for it could not be but that I shou'd hear his usual Dissuasive was I not upon doing my Duty, or that which wou'd turn to my Advantage. Now when I read the Character of *Socrates* from those who certainly were best acquainted with him, when I find him employing all his Reason to bring Men off from barren Speculations to the Knowledge of themselves, and the Practice of substantial Virtue, when I find him the greatest Master of his Passions, the most judicious Despisers of Riches within his reach, the most temperate, humble, courteous, inoffensive Man living in the Gentile World, when I find him encourag'd by his *Dæmon* to dye for the Profession of the one true God ; when *Justin Martyr* in his first *Apology*, *Sect. 5.* says, That the Evil *Dæmons* contriv'd his Death for his Attempts to rescue

Mankind

for by a secret Instigation on their Minds when they invoke these Dæmons in their Imprecations, they do in effect invoke ^w *Satan* who is the Prince of the evil Spirits. *Plato* himself is express for the Being of Angels, and the Magicians are ready to attest the same, when they have recourse to the Names of Angels and Dæmons both, in their Inchantments. But how from a corrupted Stock of Angels, corrupted by their own Wills, another worse and more degenerate ^x Race of Dæmons arose, condemned by God together

Mankind from the Worship of *Devils*, that he by his *Share of Reason* did among the *Greeks* what the *Logos* himself did among the *Barbarians*; and that both were condemn'd for the same good Designs; who after this, I say, can think *Socrates* possess'd, and govern'd by an evil Spirit? Why not rather divinely assisted to preach down Idolatry, and bring moral Righteousness into Practice, and by such Means to prepare and qualify the *Heathen World* for the Revelation of the *Messiah*?

^w *Nam & Satanam—excrementi voce pronunciat, &c.*] I don't find that the *Romans* ever curs'd expressly by the Name of *Satan*, but by making use of the Word *Malum*, or a *Mischief* take you as we say; and *Satan* being the Prince of *Mischief*, and virtually included in ev'ry such Curse, they might be say'd in this Sense to pronounce *Satan* in their Imprecations.

^x *Sed quomodo de Angelis quibusdam sua sponte corruptis, corruptior Gens Dæmonum evaserit, &c.*] This odd Opinion we find in both the Apologies of *Justin Martyr*, as well as in this of *Tertullian*, and so likewise in *Athenagoras*, &c. The Ground of it I take to be this; the *Fathers* were generally of Opinion, that evil Spirits were cloath'd with a finer sort of Body, which was fed and refresh'd from the Nidours and Steams of the Sacrifices. They found these Spirits had a prodigious Power over the Bodies they possess'd, and cou'd not certainly tell but this Power might extend even to Generation: And finding in *Josephus*, lib. 1. cap. 4. *πολλὸν ἄγγελοι θεῶν*, &c. that many Angels of God mixing with Women begot a devilish wicked Offspring, and perhaps meeting likewise with an ancient Edition of the *Septuagint*, which read *ἄγγελοι* where we read *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, the Angels of God, instead of the Sons of God went into the Daughters of Men, Gen. 6. v. 4. And meeting perhaps with something of the same Nature in that *supposititious*
Piece,

together with those they descended from, and *Satan* the Prince of 'em, whom I just now mention'd, for the History of this I say, I must refer you to the Holy Scriptures.

But not to insist upon their Generation, it will be sufficient to my purpose, to explain their Operations, or their Ways of acting upon the Sons of Men. I say then, that the Ruin of Mankind is their whole Employment, these malicious Spirits were bent upon Mischief from the Beginning, and fatally auspicious in their first Attempt, in undoing Man as soon as he was made ; and in like manner they practise the same destructive Methods upon all his Posterity, by inflicting Diseases upon their Bodies, and throwing 'em into sad Disasters, and stirring up sudden Tempests and preternatural Emotions in the Soul, and they are fitted by Nature for both these Kinds of Evil, the Subtilty and Fineness of their Substance giving 'em an easie access to Body and Soul both. These Spi-

Piece, which went under the Name of *Enoch's Prophecie*, they might by these means be led into this Mistake. However, *St. Chrysostom*, *Hom.* 22. upon *Gen.* *St. Ambrose*, *lib. de Noe & Arca*, cap. 4. have set this Matter right, by interpreting the *Sons of God* to be the *Posterity of Seth*. And tho' some Men, who think themselves well employ'd in raking this, and all they can, to invalidate the Authority of the Fathers in order to serve their Cause, may think it reasonable not to depend upon such mistaken Men ; yet such Mistakes, in my Opinion, do not in the least affect their Authority in such Cases, for which we chiefly depend upon them ; for is there any Consequence in this way of Reasoning ? Because the *Fathers* have sometimes been mistaken in Matters of *pure Reasoning*, as the wisest and best of Men may sometimes be, therefore they are not to be credited in *plain Matters of Fact*, wherein they cannot be mistaken.

rits certainly have great Abilities for Mischief, and that they do it, is apparent, tho' the Manner of effecting it is invisible, and out of the reach of humane Senses ; as for Instance, when a secret Blast nips the Fruit in the Blossom or the Bud, or smites it with an untimely Fall just upon its Maturity, or when the Air is infected by unknown Causes, and scatters the deadly Potions about the World ; just so, and by a Contagion that walketh in the like Darkeness, do Dæmons and evil Angels blast the Minds of Men, and agitate them with Furies and extravagant Uncleanesses, and dart in outrageous Lusts with a Mixture of various Errors; the most Capital of which Errors, is that having taken Possession of a Soul, and secur'd it on ev'ry side from the Powers of Truth, they recommend to it the Worship of false Gods, that by the Nidors of those Sacrifices they may procure a Banquet for themselves, the Stench of the Flesh and the Fumes of the Blood being the proper Pabulum or Repast of those unclean Spirits ; and what more Savoury Meat to them than to juggle Men out of the Notion of the True God with Delusions of Divination, which Delusions I come now to unfold.

Ev'ry Spirit, Angel and Dæmon, upon the Account of its Swiftnes, may be said to be Winged, for they can be here and there and ev'ry where in a Moment ; the whole World to them is but as one Place, and any Transactions in it they can know with the same ease, they can tell it; and this Velocity passes for Divinity

vinity among such as are unacquainted with the Nature of Spirits ; and by this Means they wou'd be concluded the Authors of those things sometimes, of which they are only the Relators, and verily sometimes they are the Authors of the Evil ; but never of the Good : They have collected some Designs of Providence from the Mouths of the Prophets ; and to those Sermons whose Sound is gone into all the Earth, do they apply at present, to pick out something whereby to form their Conjectures about Events to come ; and so by filching from hence some Revolutions which have succeeded in time, they rival the Divinity, and set up for Gods by stealing his Prophecies. But in their ^x Oracles, what Dexterity they have shewed in

^x *In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Cræsi, sciunt Pyrrhi.*] The Notorious Ambiguity of the Heathen Oracles in general, and particularly in the Cases of *Cræsus* and *Pyrrhus*,

*Aio te Æacide Romanos vincere posse,
Intrepidus si Cræsus Hylam, &c.*

This Ambiguity, I say, together with the Folly and Flattery of the Responses and the like, made some of the Heathens, who were most inclin'd to Atheism, to conclude it all *pure Priestcraft* ; and for no better Reasons have some *Moderns*, no well-wishers to the Doctrine of Spirits, concluded the same also, and treated the Fathers as a Parcel of good natur'd, easie Men, who took ev'ry thing upon trust. But now, I wou'd ask these Men of Criticism and Infidelity, what kind of Proofs will content them in *Matters of Fact* ; was ever any Fact better and more universally attested even by the Heathens themselves, than Oracles and the Cessation of them ? Was ever any thing more notorious in the time of our Saviour, than the Possessions of private Persons ? Was any thing more commonly appeal'd to than the Dispossession of evil Spirits,

for

in tempering their Responses with a convenient Ambiguity for any Question, the *Craesus's* and the *Pyrrhus's* know with a Wit-ness. It was by Virtue of the foremention'd Velocity, that *Pythian Apollo* cutting thro' the Air in a moment to *Lydia*, brought back word, that *Craesus* was boiling a ² Tortoise with the Flesh of a Lamb. Moreover, these

for some hundreds of Years after by the First Christians? Does not *Tertullian* challenge the Senate upon this Article, and stake his Life and the Truth of his Religion upon this Proof, that upon a Christian's adjuring a Person possessed, the evil Spirit shall not only come out of him, but confess himself a Devil in the presence of them all, as truly as before he had falsely own'd himself to be a God; if so, I wou'd fain see a good Reason, why an evil Spirit shou'd not possess a *Pythian* Priestess, as well as any other Person. Sure I am that the Kingdom of Darknes was mainly supported by keeping up the Oracles; nothing therefore cou'd hinder the Devil from this but want of Power; and why he shou'd have so much Power over private Persons, and not over his own Priestesses, is hard to tell. That there was oftentimes much Tricking and human Fraud in the Management of Oracles, I doubt not, but that it was all pure *Priestcraft* therefore, is a Consequence I can never allow, 'till Men can prove there is no good Money, because there is much Counterfeit; whereas, there wou'd be no Counterfeit was there no Reality for the Ground of Imitation. Had but the Heathen World known that our first Parents were seduc'd by the Devil; had they but known the Destination of good and evil Spirits, and that these Latter had been always intent upon the Destruction and Delusion of Mankind, and that one great Reason of Christ's coming into the World was to destroy the Worship of Devils, they wou'd never have question'd the Existence of Oracles; nor wou'd the Fathers have been thus discredited in a matter of Fact, for which they had the Testimony of their Senses. But finding a-bundance of false and foolish Things reported of the Oracles, and from thence justly concluding they cou'd not come from an All-wise and good Being, and not considering that they might proceed from Ignorant and Malicious Spirits, and having no mind perhaps to such strong Proofs of another State, they ran into a common Extreme from believing ev'ry thing, to believe nothing; and to conclude the whole Business of Oracles to be mere Trick and Imposture.

² This Story about the Tortoise is told at large by *Herodotus* in his *Clio*.

Dæmons by having their Residence in the Air, and by reason of their Neighbourhood and Commerce with the Stars, and Clouds, come to know the Dispositions of the Heavens, and promise Rain; which they see falling when they promise. These Dæmons likewise are very Beneficent no doubt in the Cure of Diseases, for they first inflict the Malady, and then prescribe the Remedy, but Remedies marvellously strange, and contrary to the Distemper; and after the Patient has us'd the Receipt, the Dæmon omits to afflict him, and that Omission passes for a Cure. But, why shou'd I give more Instances of their Wiles and Strength in Delusion, or mention the Phantoms of ^a *Castor* and *Pollux*, or a ^b Sieve holding Water, or a Ship drawn by a Girdle, or a ^c Beard turn'd red with a Touch? For all these are Impostures, only of Dæmons to keep Idolatry in Countenance, to make Men take Stones for Deities, and to detain 'em from any farther Inquiries after the true God.

^a The Phantoms of *Castor* and *Pollux*, are said to have acquainted the Romans of the Victory of *Macedonick* War the same Hour 'twas obtain'd.

^b *Tucia* is the vestal Virgin, who is reported to have done this Feat with a Sieve, and *Claudia* the other, who dragg'd along a Ship founder'd in the *Tyber* by the Strength of her Girdle.

^c It was *Domitian's* black Beard, which is here said to be turn'd red with a Touch of *Castor* and *Pollux* to make him give Credit to the News of the Victory they told him of, and from hence he was surnam'd *Ænobarbus* or *Rusky Beard*. One thing the Reader can hardly forbear taking notice of in the conclusion of this Chapter, and that is, between the Tricks and Amusements of evil Spirits, and the substantial Miracles of Mercy wrought by Christ and his Apostles, between discolouring a Beard and curing the Sick or raising the Dead.

C H A P. XXIII.

*Concerning the Subjection of evil Spirits
to the Command of Christians.*

MOREOVER, if Magicians do set before your Eyes a Scene of Spectres, and by their black Arts, or direful Forms in Necromancy call up the ^d Souls of the Dead; if they ^e throw Children into Convulsions, and a

^d *Defunctorum animas infamant, aliter inclamant.*] These several Species of Magick you find mention'd by *Justin Martyr*, *Apol. 1. Sect. 24.* See more of this in our Author *de Anima*, cap. 57. &c. *Vid. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 22.* This kind of Divination by the Dead, called Necromancy, was very ancient and very familiar in the Gentile World. A memorable Example of which we find, *1 Sam. c. 28.* Where *Saul* being about to war with the *Philistines*, and God denying to answer him either by Dreams, or by *Urim*, or by *Prophets*, he repairs to the *Witch of Endor*, and demands that *Samuel might be raised up from the Dead*, to tell him the Issue of the War. This was perform'd sometime by the Magical Use of a Bone of a dead Body, with other black Solemnities; sometimes by pouring hot Blood into the Carcass to make it answer a Question, as *Eripho* does in *Lucan*.

*Dum vocem defuncto in corpore querit,
Protinus astrictus caluit Cruor, atraq; fovit
Vulnera;*

Hence that of *Horace*,

Animas responsa daturas.

And in allusion to the same Practice, is that of *Virgil*,

Nec jam exaudire vocatos.

^e *Si pueros in eloquium Oraculi elidunt.*] Concerning this kind of Divination. See *Apuleius*, *Apol. 1.* and *Spartian. in vit. Jul.* Hence that of *Propertius*,

Restulit in triviis omina certa Puer.

while after make 'em vent the Fury in Oracles; if by their juggling Wiles they delude the Senses with abundance of Mock-miracles, and inject ^f Dreams in the dead of Sleep, by first invoking the Assistance of their Angels and Dæmons, by whose Sophistry even Goats and ^g groaning Boards are wont to divine: If then these

^f *Si & Somnia immittunt.*] These are the same with those called by Justin, in the Section aforesaid, *ὄνειροπομποί*. As the God of Israel was pleas'd sometimes to communicate himself to his Prophets by Dreams; so likewise the Devil in imitation had his Dreamers of Dreams among the Gentiles. The Lacedemonians kept Men on purpose to Sleep in the Temple of *Pasithea* to watch for Dreams. The Vanity of these sort of Diviners, *Juvenal* takes Occasion to lash in these words,

*Non Delubra Deûm, nec ab æthere Numina mittunt,
Sed sibi quisq; facit.*

Whoever has a mind to amuse himself more upon this Subject, may consult *Tully de Divinatu*, lib. 1. *Valer. Max.* lib. 5. cap. 7. *Plin.* l. 7. c. 50. *Macrobi. de Somn. Scip.* l. 1. c. 3. *Plutarch.* in *Pompeio*, concerning a Dream of *Mithridates*, and *Fulgent. Mytholog. lib.* 1.

^g *Per quos & Capræ, & Mensæ divinare consueverunt.*] Of Goats train'd up to Divination we find mention in *Eusebius* from a Quotation out of *Clemens Alex.* *αἰσες ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ ἡσκησέναι*, *Euseb. Prepar. Evang.* lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 62. Why Goats are particularly here specify'd for Brutes of Divination, I conjecture the Reason to be this. Before the Oracle of *Apollo* came to be fix'd at *Delphos*, the Place was nothing more than a Common, and the Goats which were grazing about there coming to a Den, large before, with a little Mouth at top, and looking in, fell a skipping and making an odd Noise; not unlike perhaps the possessed Swine mention'd in the Gospel, tho' not so fatal. The Goat-herd (*Co-retas* by Name, as *Plutarch* calls him) ran to the Place to see what was the matter with his Flock, and fell into the same Frolick, and likewise into a Fit of Prophesying; and so it tar'd with many Others, who went afterwards to visit the place, and many were strangled (says *Tully*) with *Terræ anhelitu*, with the Fumes of the Earth. *Vid. Diodor. lib.* 16. Upon this Hole of the Earth therefore was the *Tripas*, or a Three-footed-stool placed, and a Maid upon it consecrated for a Priestess, who receiv'd her Inspiration

these evil Spirits will do so much at the impulse of Men, what will they not do by their own Impulse, and for their own Interest? They will surely collect the whole Stock of malicious Power into one Effort for the Defence of themselves, and the Kingdom of Darkness. Or if Angels and Dæmons act the same with your Gods, pray where's the difference between them, and him you look upon as the Sovereign and supremest of Powers? Is it not therefore more becoming to presume

ration from below, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* in *Avid.* describes, *καθημενὴ τῷ τείποδι,* &c. These Belly-Prophets, who deliver'd themselves in a Tone like a speaking Trumpet, were called *ἐγχεσεῖμοθοι*, and thus *Isaiah*, cap. 8. v. 19. *Seek unto them which have Familiar Spirits, and unto Wizards that peep and mutter*; which the *Septuagint* more to my purpose render thus, *ζηήσατε τῷ ἐγχεσεῖμόθῳ, καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῇ γῆς φωνήσῃ, τῷ κενολογῶντι, οἱ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ φωνήσουσιν.* And more expressly, yet, cap. 29. v. 4. *Thou shalt speak out of the Ground, and thy Speech shall be low out of the Dust, and thy Voice shall be as one that hath a Familiar Spirit out of the Ground, and thy Voice shall whisper out of the Dust.* Which words are still more expressive of the *Pythones* in the *Septuagint*, καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται εἰς τὸ γῶν οἱ λόφοι σου, καὶ εἰς τὸ γῶν οἱ λόφοι σου δύσον, καὶ ἔσαι ὡς οἱ φωνῶντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἢ φωνῇ σου, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδαιον ἢ φωνῇ σου ἀθενήσῃ. Now the *Mense* in this place of *Tertullian*, I take to be the *Tripodes* called by *Virgil*, *Mense* 2. *Æn.*

—*Huc undiq; Troia Gaza,*
Inensis erepta adytis, Mensaq; Dæorum.

Sozomen in his sixth Book, cap. 35. tells us, that the *Gentile Philosophers* being extremely concern'd at the Increase of *Christianity*, made and consecrated a *Tripod* of *Laurel*, with all the Letters of the Alphabet fastned to it, to know who should be the Man that was to succeed *Valens* in the Empire; a Contrivance perhaps in Imitation of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which (as some say) consisted of all the Letters of the Alphabet, which upon a Question propos'd, did rattle after a strange manner, and join'd themselves into Words or Syllables, and so return'd a complete Answer.

those to be Gods, who do the things, which make others pass for Gods, than to bring down the Gods to a Level with Dæmons? But perhaps I am to think, that 'tis the difference of Places only which causes the Distinction of Titles, and that your Gods are to be look'd upon as Gods only in their own Temples, and he who flies thro' a sacred Turret is Begodded; but he who passes thro' a common House, Bedevil'd. Or that the Priest who cuts off his Privities, or lances his Arms, is inspir'd; but he who cuts his Throat, possess'd; however, the Fury of both has a like Event, and the Instigation is the same.

Hitherto I have argu'd upon point of Reason, and contented my self with words only; I come now to things, and shall give you a Demonstration from Fact to convince you, that your Gods and Dæmons both, are but the same Beings, tho' of different Denominations. Let a ^h Demoniack therefore be brought into

^h *Edatur hic aliquis sub Tribunalibus vestris, &c.*] This is the famous Challenge I just now refer'd to, and which I wou'd not have the Reader pass over without Reflection; for never was any thing appeal'd to in more daring Words, or more easie to be detected, if an Imposture. He challenges their Senses, their Eyes and their Ears to be Judges in the Case; he desires 'em to deny it if they can; he stands ready to answer for the Experiment with his own Blood, that their *Celestial Virgin*, their *Æsculapius*, and all the rest of those they worship for Gods, shall not only quit the Bodies they possess, but publickly in the hearing of 'em all, confess themselves to be Devils, upon the Demand of any Christian. Hear what his Scholar *St. Cyprian* says to *Demetrius* Proconsul of *Africa* upon the same Subject, *O si audire eos vëlles, & videre quando a nobis adjurantur, & torquentur Spiritualibus flagris, & verborum tormentis de obsessis corporibus ejiciuntur, quando mulieres & gementes voce humanâ, & potestate Divinâ flagella & verbera sentientes;*

into Court, and the Spirit which possesses him be commanded by any Christian to declare what he is, he shall confess himself as truly to be a Devil, as he did falsely before profess himself a God. In like manner, let one of those be produc'd, who is thought to labour with a God, whom he conceiv'd from the Steams of the Altar, and of which after many a Belch and many a Pang he is deliver'd in Oracles. Let the *Celestial* Virgin, the great Procurer of Rain, or *Æsculapius* the great Improver of Medicine, who by the help of *Scordian*, and other Sovereign and Cordial

entes, venturum Judicium consentitur; veni, & cognosce vera esse quæ dicimus. And a little after, *videbis sub manu nostrâ stare vindictas, & tremere captivos quos tu suspicis, & veneraris ut Dominos.* Not to mention *Lactantius*, who speaks to the same purpose, *de Just. lib. 5. c. 21.* All the Primitive Fathers assert the same Fact, with the same Assurance. Let me ask then a few Questions; did ever any Heathen Priest or Magician make such a Challenge at the hazard of their Lives? Did the evil Spirits ever stand in awe of them, or any of the Philosophers? Will the Criticks say that these long Quotations are foisted into the Text, when they are in ev'ry Primitive Writer? And are not these Matters of Fact, not of Reason, wherein Christians and Heathens cou'd not be impos'd upon? If so, what can be urg'd against this Demonstration of the Truth of the Christian Religion? What stronger Evidence, what more sensible Conviction cou'd the Heathens have, than to see and hear the Gods they worshipped, howl and wail and fly at the Name of Christ, and confess themselves to be all Devils in the Presence of their Worshipers? This Kingdom of Darknes was permitted to grow to its full height, and the Ruin of it then providentially reserv'd for the Coming and Conquest of the Son of God, and tho' the Dispossessions and Confessions of evil Spirits recorded of him and his Apostles in the New Testament, do sufficiently prove him to be sent from God; yet the Exercise of the same Power in their Master's Name before Proconsuls and Tribunals for many Ages, makes the Argument still the stronger and more unexceptionable. For 'tis not possible for a Miracle of three or four hundred Years continuance in Publick, to be suspected for a Cheat.

Medicines recover'd those who cou'd not have liv'd a Day longer. If all these, I say, do not declare themselves in Court to be Devils, not daring to lie in the Presence of a Christian, that Christian is willing to be taken for the Cheat, and stands ready to answer for it with his own Blood. What now can be more glaringly evident than this Demonstration from Fact? What Proof more unexceptionable? Here you have Truth shining full upon you in her native Simplicity, without the colouring of Words, or any Assistance but from her own proper Virtue; Suspicion it self here will find no Entrance. You may say this is done by Magick or some such Sophistry, if your Eyes and Ears will give you leave to say it; but what can be objected against that which is expos'd in its pure Naturals, against mere naked Truth? Moreover, if on one hand they are really Gods, why shou'd they be such silly Liars, as to say they are Devils? What, in obedience to us? Your Gods then are in Subjection to Christians; but that surely is a very sorry God, which is subject to a Man, and to a Man too which is his profess'd Enemy, and when such a Subjection makes so much to his Disgrace. On the other hand, if they are Demons or Angels, how comes it to pass, that they personate Gods, when they give their Responses to any but Christians? For as those who have the Reputation of Gods, wou'd not say they are Devils, if they are truly Gods becauset hey wou'd not divest themselves of their Majesty; so those you know to be Demons,

Dæmons, durst never aspire to the Titles of Gods, if there were any Gods of those Titles they usurp; because no doubt they wou'd be afraid of smarting for that Usurpation, from those superior Deities they have thus affronted.

The Consequence therefore is undeniable, that the Deities you worship are no Deities; for if they were, the Devils wou'd never presume to lay claim to the Title of Gods, or the Gods disclaim it. Since therefore both one and the other concur to the Acknowledgment of this Truth, that the Gods in Worship are no Gods, you must confess 'em to be all of the same Kind, that is Devils. Bethink your selves now, and examin the Gods on ev'ry side. For those you presum'd to be Gods, you plainly see to be Devils; and by the help of Christians, and by the help of your very Gods not only confessing themselves, but all the rest also not to be Gods, you'll presently learn which is the true God; whether it is he, and he alone whom the Christians profess, and whether he is to be believ'd and worshipped, according to the Christian Rule of Faith and Worship. When we conjure these evil Spirits in the Name of Christ, let them reply if they dare, Who is this Christ with his Fable of a Gospel? Let them say that he is of the common Order of Men; or will they call him a Magician? Or say that after he was buried, his Disciples came and stole away his Body out of the Sepulchre, or that he is yet among the Dead? Or rather will they not own him to be in Heaven, and that he will

will come down from thence, and put the whole Universe in a Tremor at his coming, and all Mankind but Christians into Horror and Lamentation? Shining in his native Glory, as he is the Power of God, and the Spirit of God, and the *Logos*, and the Wisdom, and the Reason, and the Son of God. Let the Devils keep their Votaries company in Derision, and join you with their Wit and Drollery upon these things. Let 'em deny that Christ will come in Judgment upon ev'ry Soul from the Creation, having first restor'd its Body. Let 'em declare, and in open Court, if they think fit, that they are of a mind with *Plato* and the *Poets*, that 'tis the Lot of *Minos* and *Radamanthus* to be Judges of the World. Let 'em wipe off the Brand of their own Ignominy and Damnation. Let 'em renounce themselves to be unclean Spirits, tho' this is evident from the Nature of their Food, from the Blood, and Stenches, and putrid Sacrifices of Animals, and the abominable Forms made use of in Divination. And lastly, Let them disown themselves to be in a damned State, and under dreadful Expectations of the Final Judgment, where they shall receive the Recompence of Sins, together with their Worshippers, and all such Workers of Iniquity.

But now this Power and Dominion of ours over these wicked Spirits, has all its Efficacy from the Name of Christ, and from our reminding 'em of those Judgments which are dropping upon their Heads from the Hand of God thro' Christ, whom he has made Judge of the

the

the World; and the Dread they have of Christ in God, and God in Christ, is the thing which subjects 'em to the Servants of God and Christ. Thus therefore by a Touch of our Hand, or the Breath of our Mouth scorch'd as it were with the Prospect and Representation of future Flames, they go out of the Bodies they possess at our Command, but sore against their Will, and gnashing and red hot with Shame, to quit their Possessions in the Presence of their Adorers.

Now then let me advise you to believe the Devils when they speak true of themselves, you who are used to credit 'em in their lies; for no Man is a Fool to such a Degree as to be at the Pains of Lying to his Disgrace, but only to his Reputation; and one is a thousand times apter to believe Men when they confess to their Disadvantage, than when they deny for Interest.

These Testimonies then of your Gods against themselves often conduce to the making of Christians, because there is no believing them, without believing in our Master Christ. The very Devils kindle in us the Belief of Holy Scripture; the very Devils are edifying and raise our Hope to Assurance. But you worship 'em, and with the Blood of Christians too, I well know; and therefore they would by no means lose such good Clients and devoted Servants as you are, not only for the sake of their Honour and Offerings, but for fear shou'd any of you turn Christians, you shou'd dispossess and serve 'em as we do. They wou'd never,
I say,

I say baulk a Lie, in so grand a Concern, was it in their Power to lie, when a Christian interrogates 'em in order to give you a Proof of his Religion by their own Confession.

C H A P. XXIV.

That the Romans are the Criminals in Point of Religion, and not the Christians.

THIS universal Confession of the evil Spirits, whereby they disclaim the Title of Gods, and whereby they declare that there is no other God but one, whose servants we profess to be; this Confession, I say, is Argument enough with a Witness to discharge Christians from the Crime of Irreligion, especially towards the *Roman* Gods; for if the *Roman* Gods for a certain are no Gods, then their Religion for a certain is no Religion; and if theirs be no Religion, because theirs be no Gods, then certainly we cannot be justly charg'd upon the Article of Irreligion, with respect to the Worship of the *Roman* Deities. But this Reproach rebounds upon your selves, for you who worship a Lie, and not only neglect the true Religion, of the true God, but moreover join all your Forces to fight it out of the World, are in truth guilty of that, which is most properly Irre-

Irreligion. For should I grant those you worship to be Gods, do not you likewise Subscribe to the common Opinion, that there is One most high and powerful Deity, who is the Author and Sovereign of the World, of Infinite Majesty and Perfection? For thus many among you have ranged the Gods, so as to vest the supreme Power in one only, and make the Rest Subaltern Gods, and Under-officers merely to this Almightyest of Deities; and thus ¹ *Plato* describes great *Jove* as attended above by an heavenly Host of Inferior Gods and Dæmons. Can you say then, that we must pay the same Honours to his Procurators and Prefects and Presidents, as to the Emperor himself? And pray now where's the Crime to be ambitious of getting into the good Graces of *Cæsar* only? And to acknowledge the Title of God like that of Emperor; his Due alone who has the Sovereign Authority? since by your Laws 'tis capital to call any one *Cæsar* who is not supreme, or to hear him so called by any other. I'll grant you, there's a difference in the Modes of Worship, between a Worshipper of God, and a Worshipper of *Jove*. Let us then suppose, that one Man worships the true supreme God, another *Jove*, one prays with suppliant hands lifted up to Heaven, another lays

¹ *Ut Plato Jovem magnum in celo comitatum exercitu describit Deorum pariter & Damonum.*] This Passage we have in Greek in *Athenagoras*, thus—'Ο δὲ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν ἐργῶν Ζῶς ἐλαύνων πῶνδ' ἄρμα περὶ τὸ πορεύεσθαι, διακοσμῶν πάντα, καὶ ἐπιμελείμεν; πῶς δ' ἔπει' ἐσθλὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων. *Athenat. Legat. pro Christian.* The Supremacy of one Deity is what you'll find by *Minutius Felix* prov'd at large from all the Philosophers.

upon the Altar of ^m *Fides*, another (if you will think them Deities) prays looking upon the ⁿ Clouds, others upon the stately Roofs of the Temple; one devotes his own Life to his God, another the Life of a Goat. But you had best see to it, whether this does not concur to the making up of another Article of Irreligion against you; namely, to deprive Men of the Liberty of worshipping after their own way, and to interdict 'em the Option of their Deity; so that I must not worship the God I would, but am forc'd to worship the God I would not; and yet 'tis agreed upon on all hands, that forc'd or unwilling Services are not grateful either to God or Man; and for this reason even the *Egyptians* are tolerated in their Superstition, which is the very Vanity of Vanities: They are permitted to make Gods of Birds and Beasts, and to make it Capital to be the Death of any of these Kinds of

^m *Aram Fidei.*] Tully in his *Offices* lib. 3. has these Words, — *Fidem in Capitolio vicinam Jovi Opt. Max. Majores nostri esse voluerunt.* Hence that of *Silius*

*Ille etiam qua prisca Fides stat Regia, nobis
Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe.*

There was likewise one *Fidius*, a Sabin God, whose Temple was upon the *Mons Quirinalis*, He was the God who took care of Oaths, hence that of *Plautus* in *Afinar*, *Per Divum Fidium quaeris.* This Oath was afterwards contracted into one Word *Mediusfidius*, 'tho *Festus Pompeius* expounds it otherwise, *quasi Fides filius.* lib. 11.

ⁿ *Nubes numeret orans.*] The wise and good *Socrates* was lash'd by *Aristophanes* in his *Nubibus* for a Worshipper of the Clouds, because he worshipped the one true God with Eyes lifted up to Heaven like the Christians, who having in a gentile sense neither Temple Image nor Altar, as the *Heathen* in *Minutius* objects, were charg'd as *Tertullian* intimates, for adoring Clouds; but how that in *Minutius* is to be understood, I refer the Reader to my Notes upon

of Deities. Ev'ry Province and City has its proper Gods, as *Syria* the God ° *Asharoth*, *Arabia* has *Disares*, *Bavaria* *Belinus*, *Africa* the P *Celestial Virgin*, and *Mauritania* their Kings. Now these Provinces (if I mistake not) are under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, and yet I don't find any of the *Roman* Gods in Worship among them; because the Gods of these Countries are as little known at *Rome*, as many of the Municipal Deities in several Towns in *Italy*, as *Delventinus* of *Casinum*, *Visidianus* of *Narni*, *Ancaria* of *Ascoli*, *Nursia* of *Volsinium*, *Valentia* of *Ocricola*, *Nortia* of *Sutri*, and *Juno* of *Monte Fiasco*, who was worshipped by the Name of *Curetis* in honour of her Father *Cures*: But we Christians, we alone are the People who are not tolerated to enjoy a sepearte Religion, proper to our selves; we offend the *Romans*, and are not to be lookt upon as *Romans*, because we don't worship the God of the *Romans*; however we have this Advantage, that God is the God of all, whose we are all, whe-

upon that Passage. *Scaliger* understands this of *Juvenal* of the Christians, and reads it thus—

Nil præter Nubes, & Cæli Numen adorant.

° *Syriae Astartes.*] *Eusebius* from *Sanconiathon* will have it to be *Venus*, *Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1 cap. 10. p. 38.* *Suidas* says thus—*Ἀστάρτη ἡ παρ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀφροδίτη λεγομένη, Θεὸς Σιδωνίων.* This was the Goddess of the *Sidonians* whom *Solomon* himself went after, and to whom he built an House. 1 *Kings* Chap. 11. v. 5. 2. *Kings* Chap. 23. v. 13. And in the House of *Asharoth* called by the *LXX.* *Ἀστάρτη*, did the *Philistines* hang up *Saul's* Armour after his death. 1 *Sam.* 31. v. 10.

P *Cælestis.*] This *Celestial Virgin* was peculiarly honour'd at *Carthage*, and is suppos'd by some to be *Juno*, 'tho there is huge Controversy about it. And the rest of the Idols here mention'd are so obscure, and so much disputed, that I believe the Reader will thank me, if I say no more about 'em.

ther we will or no ; but there is an universal Toleration among you to pay divine Honours to any, but the true God, as if this was not emphatically the God of all, whose Creatures we all are.

C H A P. XXV.

That the Roman Grandeur is not owing to the Roman Religion.

I Have now in my opinion given sufficient Proofs of the false and the true Divinity ; having not only disputed and demonstrated this Point from Arguments drawn from Reason, but also from the very Confessions of those you acknowledge for Gods ; so that nothing more seems necessary to be reinforc'd upon that Head. But because the *Roman* Greatness is an Objection that comes properly in my way, I will not decline the Combat I am challeng'd to, by the Presumption of those who say, that the ^a *Romans* arriv'd to such a pitch

^a *Romanos pro merito Religiositatis diligentissima in tantum Sublimitatis elatos.*] That the *Roman* Greatness was not owing to the *Roman* Religion, *Prudentius* proves at large, lib. 2. *adver. Symmach.*

*Sed multi duxere Dii per prospera Romam,
Quos colit ob meritum magnis donata Triumphis,
Ergo age, Bellatrix, quæ vis subjecerit, ede.*

And *Minutius* is very particular upon the same Head, but because he has borrowed so many Hints from *Tertullian*, and is subjoin'd to this Apology ; I will not forestal the Reader. However, that the

pitch of Grandeur, as to be Masters of the World, by the pure Dint and Merits of their Religion; and consequently that theirs were the right Gods, inasmuch as they who serv'd 'em outflourish'd all others in Glory, as much as they surpass'd 'em in Devotion to these Deities; and this surpassing Figure, no doubt, was the Return your own *Roman* Gods made you for their Worship; and these proper Gods, who have thus enlarg'd your Borders, must be *Sterculus*, and *Mutunus* and *Larentina*; for 'tis not to be imagin'd that Strange Gods shou'd find in their hearts to be greater Friends to a strange Nation, than to their own; and that they shou'd make over their own native Soil, in which they were bred, and born, and buried, and Deified, to an outlandish People. Let *Cybele* see to it, whether She transplanted her affections to *Rome* for the sake of her beloved Countrymen the *Trojans*, screen'd from the *Grecian* Arms I warrant, by her divine Protection; let her say whether she went over to the *Romans* upon this View, as foreseeing them the People that wou'd revenge her upon her Enemies, and one day triumph over *Greece*, as *Greece* had done over *Troy*; and to prove that she did go over to the *Romans* upon this Prospect, she has given a most glorious Instance of her Foresight in our Age, for *M. Aurelius* being taken off at *Sirmium*

the *Romans* valu'd themselves as extraordinary Favourites of Heaven upon the account of their Grandeur, is evident from that of *Valerius*, lib. 1. *Non Mirum igitur si pro eo imperio augendo custodiendog; pertinax Deorum indulgentia semper excubuit.*

the ^r seventeenth Day of March, her chief Priest and Eunuch on the twenty fourth Day of the same Month, having lanced his Arms, and let out his impure Blood upon the Altar, offered up his usual Vows for the Life of the Emperor, who was dead some days before. O leadenheel'd Curriers! O drowsie Dispatches! not to give *Cybele* notice before the Emperor was dead; in good Troth Christians must make a little merry with such a Goddess.

But had Kingdoms been at *Jove's* Disposal, *Jove* surely had never suffer'd his own *Crete* to have come under the *Roman* Rod; unmindfull of the *Idean* Cave and the never to be forgotten Noise the *Corybantes* made to drown his Infant Cryes, and of the agreeable Sweetes of his fragrant Nurse the *Goat Amalthea*. What! wou'd not he have prefer'd his own Tomb, before any Capitol, and made the Country which contain'd *Jove's* ^s Ashes, the Mistress of the World? Wou'd *Juno*, do ye think, cou'd she have help'd it, suffer'd her beloved *Carthage*, more belov'd than *Samos*, to have been sack'd

^r *M. Aurelio—exempto, die decimo sexto Kalend. Aprilium,*] Thus *Dion Cassius* of the same Emperor says—τῇ ἐπ' αὐτὴν δεκάτῃ τῆς Μαρτίου μεσηλάξειν.

^s *Quæ cineres Jovis texit.*] There is hardly any one Thing more talk'd of than *Crete* by the Poets and Historians and the Christian Apologists, where *Jove* was born bred and buried; Thus *Virgil*.

Disceat Cæli Regem pavere sub antro.

Thus *St. Cyprian de Idol. van.* *Antrum Jovis in Creta visitur.* And in the *Alexandrian Chronic* we have this Inscription—ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΘΑΝΩΝ ΙΗΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΖΕΥΣ ΘΝ. ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΚΑΛΟΤΕΙΝ. HIC SITUS JACET PICUS MORTUUS, QUI ET JUPITER, QUEM JOVEM VOCANT.

and ruin'd by the detested Race of *Trojans* ;
for I know her Passion for this City from your
own *Virgil* :

* ——— Here, Here, this darling Place,
Immortal *Juno's* Arms, and Chariot Grace ;
And Here to fix the Universal Reign,
The mighty Goddess strove, but strove in
By mightier Fate ore'come. ——— [vain,

Poor Unhappy *Juno*, Wife and sister both
to *Jove*, and yet not a Match for Fate ! for as
another Poet has it,

|| — Even *Jove* himself must bend to Fate.

And yet the *Romans* can't afford the Fates who
made 'em Masters of *Carthage* in spite of all
the Intrigues of *Juno*, half so much Honour,
as they pay to the most Infamous of Prosti-
tutes, *Larentina*. But 'tis certain, that many
of your Gods reign'd once upon Earth ; if
therefore Kingdoms are now at their Dispose,
pray tell me from whom did they themselves
receive their Crowns ? Who was the God,
that *Saturn* or *Jove* worshipped ? Some Dung-
hill-God, *Sterculus* I suppose ; but this cou'd
not well be, for *Saturn* and *Jupiter* were both
dead long before *Sterculus* got his immortal

* — *Hic illius arma,*
Hic Currus fuit, hoc Regnum Dea Gentibus esse,
Si qua Fata sinant, jam tum tenditq; fovetq;.

|| — *Fato stat Jupiter ipse.*

Honour at *Rome* for teaching his Countrymen the Art of dunging their Ground. But tho' some of your Gods never arriv'd to the Honour of being Kings, yet Others who were Kings, have not had the Honour to be Gods : The Disposal of Kingdoms therefore must be lodg'd elsewhere, and not in the Kings themselves ; because they are Kings, before they have the Good luck to be Gods, or the Disposers of Kingdoms. But how Ridiculous a Thing it is to ascribe the *Roman* Grandeur to the Merits of the *Roman* Religion, when the Grandeur is older than the Religion ; or rather the Religion increas'd and multiply'd in proportion to the State. For tho' your superstitious Curiosities had their first Conception in ^t *Numa's* Brain, and yet during his Reign, the *Roman* Worship was without either Statue or

^t *A Numâ concepta est Curiositas Superstitiosa.*] It has been objected, that the Consent of Nations, if it argues any thing, argues for Polytheism, that being more universal, and consequently more natural then the Worship of one God ; but this is a very foolish Objection ; for there is in all Mankind a Propensity to Religion in General, as there is an Inclination to eat and drink in all, and as it is left to the Direction of our Appetites what we shou'd choose to eat and drink in particular, so is it left to our Reason what we shou'd worship ; but to eat and drink and worship something, we are all inclin'd, tho' often abus'd as to the Object. 'Tis this natural Propensity to Religion, Designing Men strike in with ; and they wou'd never apply to it so universally, did they not find all Mankind readily dispos'd for Divine Worship ; for an Atheist has been look'd upon as a Monster in all Ages. Thus it was that *Numa Pompilius* work'd upon his Subjects, and procur'd an Impiety, or Veneration to all his Institutions, by pretending an Acquaintance with the Goddess *Ægeria*. *Numa Pompilius, ut Populum Romanum sacris obligaret, volebat videri sibi cum Dea Ægeria congressus esse nocturnos, ejusque monitu accepta Diis Immortalibus sacra instituire.* *Valer. Max. lib. 1. Cap. 2.*

Temple ;

Temple ; their old Religion was a ^u thrifty plain Religion, without any pompous Rites, or any Capitol ^w vying with Heaven ; their Altars were rude and hasty, and of Turf only ; their sacred Vessels of *Samian* Clay. And from hence the moderate Steams of a slender Sacrifice ascended, and not the Image of any God to be seen amongst 'em ; for as yet the *Grecian* and *Tuscan* Artists had not overflow'd the City with the Invention of Images ; and therefore 'tis certain, that the *Romans* were not so exceeding religious, before they were so exceeding great ; and consequently their Greatness cannot be owing to their Religion.

But with what Forehead can Men entitle their Greatness to Religion, when their Greatness stands upon the Ruins of Religion ? For if I mistake not, Kingdoms or Empires are got

^u *Frugi Religio* &c.] *Varro* says that the *Romans* worshipped their Gods 170 Years without any Image, and thinks they had been better serv'd, had there been no Images made ; and this Frugality in Religion lasted to the Conquest of *Asia*, *usque ad devictam Asiam*, says *Pliny lib. 34*. Thus *Ovid* speaking of the ancient Simplicity, says—

*Jupiter exigua vix totus stabat in Æde,
Inque Jovis dextrâ fixile Fulmen erat.*

In Fast. 3. and in like manner *Juvenal*.

*Hanc rebus Latiis curam præstare solebat
Fidilis, & nullo violatus Jupiter auro.*

Vid. Cicer. Paradox. 1.

^w *Capitolia certantia cælo*] *Capitols* vying with Heaven. Agreeable to which *Martial* thus describes it,

*Nec Capitolini summum penetrale Tonantis,
Quæque nitent Cælo proxima Tempia suo.*

by Wars, and propagated by Victories, and Wars and Victories for the most part conclude in the Captivity and Desolation of Cities. And this sort of Business is not likely to be dispatch'd without treading upon Religion ; for the Walls of a Town and those of a Temple are batter'd both alike ; Priests and People slain without Distinction ; and the plundering Soldier will no more pardon the Riches of the Gods, than those of Men. The *Romans* therefore may compute their Sacrileges by their Trophies, and tell how many Gods they have triumph'd over, by the Nations they have conquer'd ; and withal remember that all the Statues of the Captive Deities now in the Temple, are but so many Spoils of War: And yet these Gods will endure to be worshipped by such Enemies, and decree 'em a * perpetual Empire for so doing ; when in Honour they ought to be reveng'd upon their Outrages, rather than be cajol'd by their Adoration ; but Gods who have neither Sensation nor Knowledge, may be injur'd with as much Impunity, as they are serv'd with vanity. Certainly it cannot enter into any ones Head to imagine, that the *Romans* grew to this Bulk of Greatness by the Influence of Religion, who (as I have suggested) one way or other always mounted to their Greatness by treading upon Religion ;

* *Illis Imperium sine fine decernunt.*] Tertullian frequently quotes *Virgil* expressly, which makes it probable that in these Words he alludes to a like Passage in that Poet.

— *Imperium sine fine dedi.*

for even those, whose Kingdoms are melted down, as it were into one Mass of *Roman* Empire, those I say, when they lost these Kingdoms, were no more without Religion, than they who got them.

C H A P. XXVI.

*That Kingdoms are only at his Dispose,
who is the true God.*

CONsider therefore with your selves and see, whether it must not needs be him, who is the Disposer of Kingdoms; who is the Maker and Proprietor of the World which is governed, and of the Man who governs it: Whether it must not be him, who orders the Revolutions of Empire in succeeding Ages of Time, who was before Time it self, and who of the several Parts or Links of Ages, compos'd the whole Body or chain of Time: Whether 'tis not he, who raises up and pulls down Cities, under whom Mankind once sojourn'd without any Cities at all. Why will you thus persist in Error? For ancient ^y uncultivated *Rome* is ancients than many of your Gods.

^y *Sylvestris Roma.*] Wild uncultivated *Rome*; in which State *Virgil* thus describes it. *Æn.* 8.

*Hinc ad Tarpeiam Sedem, & Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olim Sylvestribus horrida dumis.*

She had her Kings before she had such a Circumference of her Ground taken up with a Capitol. The *Babylonians*, and *Medes*, and *Egyptians*, and *Assyrians*, and *Amazons* had all their Kingdoms, before your *Pontiffs*, and *Quindecemviri*, and *Salii*, and *Luperci* were thought of. After all, had the *Roman* Gods been the Dispensers of Kingdoms, the ancient *Jews* had never risen to such an Ascendant, as to reign in defiance of all the common Deities all the World over; to which God of the *Jews*, you your selves have offer'd Sacrifices, and to whose Temple you have presented Gifts; and which Nation for a long time you honour'd with your² Alliance; and which, let me tell you, you had never reign'd over, had they not finally fill'd up the Measure of their Sins with their Sin against Jesus Christ.

C H A P. XXVII.

*That the Gentiles are set against Christians
by the Instigation of evil Spirits.*

THIS I take for a sufficient Answer to that Article, which charges us with Treason against the Gods, having demonstrated them to

² *Heeribus.*] Concerning the Alliance and frequent Leagues of the *Romans* with the *Jews*. *Vid. Machab. l. 1. cap. 8. lib. 2. cap. 11, &c.* and *Joseph. lib. 14. p. 486. lib. 16. c. 10. p. 562.* But for offering Sacrifice to the God of the *Jews* I cannot find, tho' *Herodotus* affirms it, and from *Josephus*.

be no Gods, and consequently no Harm done 'em. When therefore we are called forth to *Sacrifice*, we set Conscience before to support us against the Order; which tells us what Kind of Beings those are, which these Sacrifices are made to, that are made to the Images prostituted for Worship, and to the consecrated Names of Men. But some look upon it as Madness, that when we might Sacrifice *Occasionally*, and depart in a whole Skin, or without hurting our Conscience, by Virtue of an inward Reserve to continue firm to our Religion, that we shou'd be such Blockheads as to prefer our Opiniatretè to our Lives. Thus, forsooth, you give the Counsel by what means we are to abuse you; but well we know from whence the Suggestions come; who it is that is behind the Scene and prompts all this; and how he works sometimes by persuasive Wiles, and sometimes by dint of Cruelty, and all to throw us off from our Constancy. It is verily the Devil of an Angel, a Spirit divorc'd from God, and for that Reason our immortal Enemy, and one who gnashes with Envy at the divine Graces we enjoy, and plays all his Engines of Destruction against us from your Minds, as it were from a Cittadel. Which Minds of yours are by his secret Injections modify'd and suborn'd to that Perverseness of Judgment, and Savage Injustice against us, which I mention'd in the beginning of my Apology. For altho' the whole Force of Dæmons and such kind of Spirits is subjected to us; yet like other rebellious Slaves, their Fear is
mix'd

mix'd with Contumacy, and 'tis their Meat and Drink to be hurting those whom otherwise they are afraid of, for servile Fear inspires Hatred.

Besides in this State of Rage and Despair, they look upon Mischief as their whole Comfort; and all the lucid ^a Interval they have for this devilish Enjoyment, is but 'till the Day of Judgment; and yet when we apprehend 'em they surrender, and submit to their Condition; and whom they battel at a distance, they beseech at hand. Therefore when by their Instinct you treat us like Rebels, and condemn us to Workhouses, or Prisons, or the Mines, and such like servile Punishment, when thus I say by you their Instruments they break out against us, in whose Power they are (for they know their Imparity full well, and their Malice is but the more enraged at their Impotency) then we take another Course, and engage these odious Spirits, as it were upon equal Terms, and resist with Patience impregnable; that being the Quarter they attack us upon with all their Fury, and we never come off so triumphantly, as when we suffer victoriously, and resist unto Death.

* *Fruenda iterum malignitati de Pœna morâ.*] And all the Lucid Interval they have for this Devilish Enjoyment is but till the Day of Judgment.] In these Words, our Author plainly alludes to the 2^d. Epistle of St. Peter, chap. 2. v. 4. For if God spared not the Angels that sinned, but cast them down to Hell, and deliver'd them into Chains of Darkness, to be reserv'd unto Judgment. And this Allusion in a Point of Doctrine, in some measure proves that this Epistle went for Genuine in our Author's Time.

C H A P. XXVIII.

*That the Romans have their Emperors
in greater Veneration than their Gods.*

BUT because it seems manifestly wrong to drag Men to sacrifice against the natural Freedom of their Wills ; since, as I have elsewhere declar'd, Religion must be a pure Act of the Will ; it must needs be very foolish to press Men to the Service of the Gods, whom for their own Sakes they ought to serve Freely ; and that it shou'd not be in a Man's Choice, which he has a Right to by the Liberty of his Will, to say, I will not have *Jove* for my God. Who are you pray Sir that pretend to have my will in keeping ? I care not a Farthing for *Janus*, let him turn his Brows upon me from which Forehead he pleases : What have you to do with me in the Choice of Religion ? But they which put you upon forcing us to Sacrifice to the Gods, are the same Spirits which inform you, to make us ^b Sacrifice for the

^b *Pro salute Imperatoris Sacrificare,*] When *Herod* and his Father *Nicetes* took up *Polycarp* into their Coach, they attempted to persuade him off of his Resolution to suffer, in this Form of Words, τί γὰρ καὶν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, κύριε Καίσαρ, καὶ θύσαι καὶ διασώζειν. *Where's the harm to say, O Lord Caesar, and to sacrifice, and so save your self ?* And when the Martyr was brought before the Tribunal, the Proconsul charges him to swear by the Genius of *Caesar*, ὁμοσὼν ἢ Καίσαρ ἢ τύχῳ, μετάνοστον, εἶπον αἶψα τὰς ἀθέτους, that is, swear by *Caesar's Genius*, Repent, say take off the *Atheists*, that is the Christians. These and such like were the Forms upon which they cry'd Christians. *Vid. Euseb. Ecc. Hist. lib. 4. chap. 15. p. 121.*

Safety of the Emperor ; and so *Cæsar's* Safety being twisted with the Honour of the Gods ; You are by this Stratagem necessitated to compel, and we to suffer.

I come now to the second Article of Lese-Majesty, but Majesty more August with you, than that of your Gods ; for you are more sincerely afraid and circumspect in your Devotions to *Cæsar*, than to *Olympian Jove* ; and deservedly too if you understood it ; for what Man alive is not preferable to a dead one ? But this difference in your Devotions is not grounded so much upon Reason, or the Knowledge you have of your Deities, as upon the Consideration of the Emperor's present sensible Power upon you ; and tis upon this Account here I tax you with Irreligion, because you stand more heartily in Awe of *Cæsar* than of all your Gods ; for in fine, you will sooner invoke all your Gods round to bear witness to a Lie, than swear falsely by the single *Genius* of *Cæsar*.

^c *Citius denique apud vos.] Tutius per Jovis Genium pejerare, quam Regis, Tis much safer (says Minutius) to swear falsely by the Genius of Jove, than Cæsar.*

Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras.

says Horace.

For he who swore falsely by the Gods, was noted only by the Censors, and expos'd to shame, *Vid. Ciceron. lib. 4. de Repub.* But one perjurd by the Genius of *Cæsar* was severely bastinado'd, and expos'd into the Bargain. For thus says *Ulpian lib. 13 de Jurejurando.*—*Siquis juraverit in re pecuniaria per Genium Cæsaris, & pejeraverit &c. Imperator noster cum Patre rescripsit, fustibus eum castigandum dimittere, & ita ei superdici, ἀγοπετάς μὴ ὄμνως, petulanter ne jurato.*

C H A P. XXIX.

*That the Emperors maintain the Gods,
rather than the Gods the Emperors.*

FIRST therefore make it appear, that those you sacrifice to, can protect either Kings or Subjects, and then charge us with Treason against Gods and Men ; for if Angels or Dæmons, Spirits essentially wicked, or of the most destructive Nature, can be the Authors of any Good : If Spirits lost and undone themselves can save others, if the Damned can give Freedom, and lastly if the Dead (as you know in your Conscience your Gods to be) can defend the living, pray why don't they defend in the first place their own Statues, and Images, and Temples, which in my Opinion are defended by *Cæsar's* Guards, who keep watch and ward for their security. But the Materials of these, I think come from *Cæsar's* Mines ; and the Temples depend on *Cæsar's* Nod ; and lastly many of the Gods have felt *Cæsar's* Displeasure ; and if he has been Propitious to the Gods, and Liberal, and bestow'd Privileges upon 'em, it still makes for our Cause. Thus then how is it likely, that they who are at *Cæsar's* Nod, as they all entirely are, shou'd be the Guardians of *Cæsar's* Life ? Is it not more likely, that the Gods should be in *Cæsar's* Keeping, than *Cæsar* in theirs ?

what ? are we Traitors to the Emperors because we do not set 'em below their own Possessions ? Because we will not make Mock-Addresses for their Safety, concluding it cannot be in the keeping of Hands of Lead. But you are the only Persons of Religion, who pray for their Safety, where it can't be had ; and overlook him, who alone has it in his Power : But those, who know how to ask it, and can obtain it too, because they know how to ask it ; those, I say you are persecuting out of the World,

C H A P. XXX.

Concerning the God of Christians by whom Kings reign, and the Prayers of Christians for the Life of the Emperors.

THe God we pray to for the Life of Emperors, is the Eternal God, the true God, the God of Life, and whom above all, the Emperors themselves principally desire to propitiate ; they know by whom they reign as Kings, and live as Men. They are sensible that he is the only God, and in whose Power alone they are ; and that they themselves are, next under him, supreme ; and after him, the first in Honour, above all Men, and all your other Gods too into the Bargain. And why not ? Since they are above all Men living,

living, and the living surely are above the Dead. They consider how far their Power will go, and find it infinitely below the Reach of Heaven, and so come to be sensible of a God above 'em; and consequently that the Powers they have, must be from God. Let an Emperor make War upon Heaven, and pride himself with the Thoughts of leading captive Heaven in Triumph, let him set Guards upon Heaven, and try to reduce it to a *Roman* Province, and He'll find his Weakness. He is therefore great, because he is but less than Heaven; for he is a Creature of his, who made Heaven, and ev'ry Creature, that ever had a Being. He made him an Emperor, who made him a Man; the Author of his Life is the Author of his Power.

To this Almighty Maker and Disposer of all Things, it is that we Christians offer up our Prayers, with Eyes lifted up to Heaven, and ^d unfolded Hands in token of our Simplicity,

^d *Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis &c.*] The primitive Christians at their devotion did not only lift up their Hands to Heaven, for so we find the Heathens did, according to that of *Virgil*——

Et duplices tendens ad sidera palmas,

but they laid their expanded Hands Transverse in the Form of a Cross; and so we are to understand our Author here by his *manibus expansis*, and so likewise in his book *de Orat.* chap. 11. *Nos vero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus, & Dominicâ Passione modulamur. Vid. not. Vales. in Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 242.* I cannot but take notice here of a most extraordinary Objection against set Forms of Prayer; urg'd by *Dav. Clarke*.

city, and with uncover'd Heads because we have nothing to blush for, in our Devotion ; and without a ^e Prompter, because we pray with

Clarkson in his Discourse concerning Liturgies, from this Passage. That the Christians then lifted up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven in Prayer, which shews they had no Books. It shews it indeed just as much, as our lifting up our Hands and Eyes shews now, that we have no Common-Prayer Book in our Church ; but certainly both Minister and People being constantly us'd to one Form may have so much Memory, as to find time to look off from their Books, and look up to Heaven at proper Seasons.

^e *Denique sine Monitore, quia de Pectore oramus.*] This is just such another obscure Passage as the *ὁν Δωμάρις* in *Justin Martyr* already mention'd ; but as dark as it is, yet with some Men 'tis as clear as the Day for the use of *Extempore* Prayer in *Tertullian's* time. But before I enter upon this controverted Place, I desire the Reader to take notice. first, that 'tho our Author does not give us the very Form because he wrote to Unbelievers, yet in this Chapter he gives the Heads of a stated Prayer for the Emperor ; namely, a long Life, a quiet Empire, a well establish'd Family, a valiant Army, a faithful Senate, a virtuous People &c. Now he could not deliver in these Particulars as a Proof of the Christian Loyalty, unless they pray'd constantly for these Things, and that must be by a constant settled Form ; for *Extempore* Prayer is as uncertain as the Wind, and cou'd have been no Evidence in this or any other Case. Secondly, by this Phrase *without a Monitor*, cannot possibly be meant without any one to dictate a Form of Words to them, because in all their publick Prayers the Minister was always the Mouth of the Congregation, and whether he pray'd by a Form, or *Extempore*, his Words must be a Form of Words to the People, who pray'd after him. What ever therefore this dubious Expression may mean, it cannot possibly mean without a Form, unless it means without a Minister ; because, as I have said, the Prayers of the Minister must be a Form to the People. And now for the Phrase it self ; We pray *Sine Monitore*, *without a Prompter or Monitor*, because *de Pectore*, *from the Heart*, that is, *Extempore* as Mr. *Clarkson* and the *Antiformulists* expound it. Bishop *Bilson* in his *Christian Subject*, with great Modesty says, *This seems to be meant of the miraculous Gift of Prayer, which dur'd in the Church unto his Time. Vid. Christian Subj. part 4. page 411.* But then he supposes withal, that this extraordinary Gift ceased soon after and that Liturgies came into practice long before the time of St. *Basil* or *Chrysostom* ; so that allowing this Conjecture, it will by no means follow, that because Ministers while di-

vinely

with our Hearts, rather than our Tongues ; and in all our Prayers, are ever mindful of all our Emperors and Kings wheresoever we live, beseeching God for every one of 'em without Distinction, that he would bless 'em with
Length

vinely inspir'd, pray'd without a Form, therefore they ought to keep on praying extempore, when the Days of Inspiration are over. But with all respect to this learned Prelate, he seems not to reach the Design and Meaning of *Tertullian* in this Place; and in order hereunto, 'tis to be remembred, that the Heathen had abundance of Deities, and every Deity to be invoc'd in a several Form, for such Blessings as lay within his particular Province. Thus for Instance, *Bacchus* was invoc'd in this wise, *O Bacchus Son of Semele the giver of Riches*, &c. *Vid. Casaub. Exercit. 16. p. 42.* And so again for *Janus*, *O Father Janus, with this Cake I offer Thee my good Wishes*, &c. *Vid. Fest. in verb. Signif.* And so again for *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and all the rest. Now in such a Swarm of Deities and different Invocations, a God might easily be pass'd over, or the Invocation ill worded, or ill pronounced, (which was look'd upon very ominous, and hence perhaps that Phrase of *Bona verba*.) For fear, I say, that there shou'd be any Omision or Blunder in these divine Addresses, these several Forms of Invocation were not only read out of the Ritual by one Priest, but there was another Priest also appointed, as a publick Monitor, to oversee and set 'em right in their Repetitions. And that this was the Case, seems very probable from that of *Pliny*, *lib. 28. c. 2.* *Inprecationibus, ne quid Verborum prateretur, aut praposterum dicatur de Scripto praeire aliquem, rursusq; alium Custodem dari, qui attendat.* In certain Prayers, lest any of the words shou'd be omitted, or preposterously repeated, there is one to dictate to the People out of a Book, and another appointed as Overseer, to attend how they pronounce. Now this last, whom *Pliny* calls the *Custos*, or Overseer, seems not unlikely to be the Monitor alluded to by *Tertullian*. We pray then without a Monitor, because *de pectore*, from the Heart; which may either signifie that we repeat not our Prayers aloud after the Priest, as you do, but join with him in our Soul; or else, that we can say our Prayers by heart, and so have no occasion for such a Monitor, and then *de pectore* answers exactly to *ἄφ' ὧν* and such *Grecisms* are much affected by this Writer. *Vid. Thornd. Relig. Assemb. p. 237.* Another learned Person understands this Phrase *de pectore*, of those Prayers which ev'ry private Christian us'd in the solemn Assemblies on the Stationary Days, in the Intervals between the publick Offices of the Church, while the Congrégation kept Silence; and considering that they stay'd at these Stations for nine hours together;
X and

Length of Days, and a quiet Reign, a well establish'd Family, a stout Army, a faithful Senate, an honest People, and a peaceful World, and whatever else either Prince or People can wish for.

But these are Blessings I cannot persuade myself to ask of any, but him who I know can give 'em; and that is my God, and my God only, who has 'em in his Dispose; and I am

and that all this time was not taken up in Reading, Expounding, Singing, and in Common-Prayers, 'tis not improbable but the Interspaces were allow'd for the exercise of mental Devotion. And then this Phrase *de pectore* can argue nothing against set Forms in publick Prayers. Besides, it was a Custom, and taken Notice of by *Plutarch*, that while the Priest was officiating, for another to go behind him with this Admonition, *Hoc age quod agis, be sure to mind what you are about*; and this perhaps might be the *Monitor*; but Christians who pray'd *de pectore* with all their Hearts and Souls, had no need of such an Officer. Lastly, if we consider that *Tertullian* is here proving the Sincerity of the Christian Loyalty, above that of the Heathens, it seems most agreeable to his Design in my Opinion, and what the words will very well bear, to understand him thus; The Heathens were oblig'd to offer up their Vows and Sacrifices in publick for the Life of the Emperor; and for fear they shou'd omit to name him, either out of Negligence or Malice, or name him only by way of Imprecation, there was a *Custos* or *Monitor* appointed to see that they rightly pronounced the Form of Words dictated by another Priest from Writing. And to this *Seneca* no doubt alludes in these remarkable Words, *lib. de Clement. cap. 19. Quid pulchrius est, quam vivere optantibus cunctis, & vota non sub Custode nuncupantibus?* What more lovely or desirable than to live in the Hearts of his Subjects, and to have 'em all praying for him without the help of a Monitor? And therefore, says our Author, we pray *sine Monitore*, without an Overseer, because *de pectore*, that is, *ex animo*, because we pray for Emperors from our very Heart and Soul. Thus then we see how many ways there are of expounding this obscure Passage, each of which is much more probable, than that which is urg'd for the Justification of extempore Prayer. And thus likewise we see how the Authority of the Ancients is valu'd like an Oracle, when they deliver themselves in agreeable Ambiguity, but when they can't be made to speak for the Party, why then the Fathers are very ordinary People.

one to whom he has oblig'd himself by Promise to grant what I ask, if I ask as I shou'd do; for I am his Servant, and serve him only, and for whose Service I am killed all the Day long, and to whom I offer that noble and greatest of Sacrifices which he has commanded, a Prayer which comes from a chaste Body, an innocent Soul, and a sanctify'd Spirit; not a Farthing's-worth of Frankincense, not the Tears of an *Arabian* Tree, or two Drops of Wine; not the Blood of a discarded Bull worn out with Age; and after all these Defilements, a Conscience the most defiled thing of all. So that in truth, when I reflect upon the Pollutions of the Sacrificers, who are to examine the Qualifications of the Sacrifice, I cannot but wonder, why the Entrails of the Beasts shou'd be rather inspected, than the Inwards of the Priests.

Thus then while we are stretching forth our Hands to our God, let your tormenting Irons harrow our Flesh, let your Gibbets exalt us, or your Fires lick up our Bodies, or your Swords cut off our Heads, or your Beasts tread us to Earth. For a Christian upon his Knees to his God, is in a Posture of Defence against all the Evils you can croud upon him.

^f Consider this, O you impartial Judges,
and

^f *Hoc agite, boni Præsides, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro Imperatore.*] There is a most bitter Sarcasm imply'd in these words, *Hoc agite*, that is, be intent upon your Sacrifice, and wrack out the Soul of a Christian while 'tis praying to God for the Life of the Emperor; wherein our Author manifestly alludes to the Custom just now mention'd from *Plutarch*, that while the Priest was sacrificing

and go on with your Justice, and while our Soul is pouring out her self to God in behalf of the Emperor, do you be letting out her Blood.

C H A P. XXXI.

That Christians are commanded to love their Enemies.

BUT perhaps our Vows and Intercessions with Heaven for the Life of the Emperor are to be look'd upon merely as the Spices of Flattery, and a Trick only to elude the Severity of the Laws; but if you will have it a Trick, it has had this Advantage, to procure us the Liberty of proving, what we propos'd to do in our Justification. Thou therefore that thinkest that the Christian Religion expresses no Concern for the Life of *Cæsars*, look into the Word of God, the Word we go by, and which we do not suppress in Private, and which many Accidents have thrown into the hands of Strangers; and there you may see with what superabundant Charity we are commanded *to love our Enemies*,

singing, the Crier or *Præco* went behind him with these Words, *Hoc age, Mind what you are about*; for thus *Plutarch* tells us in *Coriolano*, ὅταν γὰρ ἀρχόντες ἢ ἱερεῖς προέτρωσι τὶ τῷ δαίμονι, ὁ κήρυξ πρόσκειται μεγάλη φωνὴ βοῶν (ὅκ' ἄγε) σημαίνε γὰρ φωνή, τῆτο προέτρε, προσέχεν κελύεσσα τοῖς ἱερεῖς, καὶ μὴ δὲν ἔρπον ἐμβαλεῖν μέγαξυ, μὴ δὲ χρεῖαν ἀχολίας.

to bless them that curse us, to do good to them that hate us, and to pray for them which despitefully use us, and persecute us. And who Mat. v. 44. such cruel Persecutors of Christians, as the Emperors for whom they are persecuted? And yet these are the Persons we are commanded by the Word of God expressly, and by Name to pray for; for thus it runs, *I exhort therefore that first of all, Supplications and Prayers, Intercessions and giving of Thanks be made for all Men, for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we may live a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty.* For when the Government is shaken, the Members of it feel the Shock, and we (tho' we are not look'd upon as Members by the People) yet we must be found somewhere in the Calamity of the Publick. I Tim. ii. 1.

C H A P. XXXII.

Concerning another Reason of the Christians in praying for the Emperors.

BUT there is another and more prevailing Reason which determines us to intercede with Heaven for the Emperors, and for the whole Estate of the Empire, and their Prosperity. And it is this, that we are of Opinion, that the Conflagration of the Universe which is now at hand, and is likely to flame

out in the Conclusion of this Century, and to be such a horrid Scene of Misery, is retarded by this Interposition of the *Roman* & Prosperity; and therefore we desire not to be Spectators of dissolving Nature, and while we pray for it to be deferr'd, we pray for the Sub-
sistence of the *Roman* Empire.

But then as to your other Objection concerning Oaths; to this I answer, that ^h Swear we do, and if not by the *Genius's* of the *Cæ-*

^e *Quod vim maximam universo orbi imminentem, &c.*] *Tertul-
lian* in this Passage alludes to that of *St. Paul.* 2 *Thess.* cap. 2. And
now ye know what with-holdeth, that he might be revealed in his
time, &c. And so likewise in his Book *de Resur. Carnis.* cap. 24.
*Jam enim arcanum iniquitatis agitur; tantum ut qui tenet, teneat,
donec de medio fiat. Quis nisi Romanus Status? &c.* And it was the
Current Opinion of the Fathers, that *Antichrist* shou'd not come
till the *Roman* Empire was destroy'd. To this purpose *Theod.*
Chrysost. *Τινες τὸ καλέχον τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκόντ' βασιλείαν, τινες
δὲ τὴν χάριν τὴν πνευματικὴν, οἱ μὲν τὴν πνευματικὴν τὴν χάριν φασίν,
οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν, οἷς ἔστω μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας.* And so
again *St. Jerom.* *Nisi, inquit, fuerit Romanum Imperium ante de-
solatum, & Antichristus praeceperit, Christus non veniet.* *Hieron. Epist.*
ad Algas. Qu. 11. F. 60.

^h *Sed & juramus, sicut non per Genios Caesarum, ita per Salutem
eorum, &c.*] Here we have the Lawfulness of an Oath expressly
asserted by our *Tertullian*, tho' now gain-say'd by some new-
fashion'd Christians, (if the *Quakers* may be called Christians)
and an Oath too by the Life of the Emperors; and a very sacred
Oath too it is, says our Author, when so sacred a Person is sworn by.
They wou'd not swear by their *Genii* indeed, because they look'd
upon that, as swearing by the Devil and his Angels; and thus we
find that *Joseph* swore by the Life of *Pharaoh*. Some are of opini-
on, that this Custom of Swearing by the Safety of the Emperor
was introduc'd by *Augustus*, from that of *Horace*,

*Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
Jurandasq; tuum per numen ponimus aras.*

However this be, 'tis certain from *Suetonius in Vita Tiberii*, and
from *Cornelius Tacitus*, lib. 1. That *Tiberius* forbid all such swear-
ing either by his Life or *Genius*. *Vid. Dion. Rom. Hist.* lib. 57.

Sars,

sars, yet by their Life, which is of more Veneration to us, than all the *Genii* put together; but you seem to be ignorant, that the *Genii* are called *Dæmons*, and from thence by a diminutive word *Dæmonia* that is *little Devils*. We reverence the Providence of God in the Persons of the Emperors, who has made choice of 'em for the Government of the World. We know that the Power they have, they have by the Will of God; and therefore we wish well to that, which God has will'd to be; and we look upon that as a very sacred Oath, which is made by so sacred a Person; but as for *Dæmons*, that is *Genii*, we are us'd to exorcise them, and not to swear by 'em, for fear of giving that Honour to Devils, which is due only to God.

C H A P. XXXIII.

A farther Account of Christian Loyalty, and their refusing to call the Emperor by the Title of God.

BUT what need I say more to shew the sacred Tie which binds On the Duty of Allegiance upon Christian Subjects? 'Tis enough to say that we look upon our selves under a Necessity to honour the Emperor, as a Person of God's Election; so that I may very

deservedly say, that we have much the greatest share in *Cæsar*, as being made Emperor by our God. And therefore 'tis I who more effectually recommend him to God, because I not only earnestly ask it of him, who can give it, or because I am such a Petitioner as have the most Reason to obtain it, but also because by setting *Cæsar* below his God, I set him higher in his Affection, to which God alone I subject him; and I subject him to God, by not making him his equal.

I will not give the ^k Title of God to the Emperor, either because I dare not speak against my Conscience, nor ridicule him; or because he himself will not endure the Title. If he be a Man, 'tis the Interest of a Man to give Place to God; let him content himself with the Name of Emperor, for this is the most majestick Name upon Earth, and it is the Gift of

ⁱ *Plus ego illi operor in Salutem.*] 'Tis I who more effectually recommend him to God. This Word *Operor*, I take to be very significative and emphatical in this Place; for as *Facere* often is us'd for *Rem sacram facere*, to Sacrifice; so *Operari* when apply'd to religious Matters, is the same with the Greek ἐργαζέσθαι, by Sacrifice or Prayer to work upon God with Energy or efficaciously.

^k *Non enim Deum Imperatorem dicam.*] I will not call the Emperour, God. *Antiochus* King of Syria arriv'd to the extravagant Blasphemy of taking upon him this Title of God. *Vid. Appian. in Syr.* So likewise among the Romans, *Caligula* commanded himself to be called *Optimus Maximus*, and *Jupiter Latialis*. See *Sueton. in vita ipsius, cap. 22.* and *Philo* in his *Legatione ad Caium*. And thus *Tacitus, lib. 3.* speaks of *Domitian*, *Mox imperium adeptus, Jovi Custodi templum ingens, seq; in sinu Dei sacravit. Vide etiam Sueton, cap. 13.* Hence that of *Martial, lib. 5. Epigr. 8.*

Edictum Domini, Dei; nostri.

And so again, *lib. 8. Epigr. 2.*

Terrarum Domino, Deoq; rerum.

God.

God. He lays aside the Emperor, who takes upon him the God ; he must be a Man, to be an Emperor. When he is in the very Prime of his Glory sitting in his Triumphant Chariot, even then he is admonish'd to know himself a Man, by one speaking from behind in these Words, ¹ *Look back, and Remember your self to be but Man* ; and he is then the more contented to find himself on such a dazzling height of Glory, as to make it necessary for him to be advis'd of his Humanity. He is the weakest of Princes who can feel himself a Man, and wou'd be flatter'd as Almighty ; and he the *Cæsar* truly great, that will bear the Truth that is design'd to keep him within the Bounds of Mortality.

¹ *Suggeritur enim ei a tergo, Respice post te, Hominem memento te.]*
 In the same Chariot, behind him who triumph'd, was the *Publick* *Servant* carry'd, who held up a huge heavy Crown above the Head of the Triumpher, both to express his Merits, and his Weakness by a glorious Weight he cou'd not bear ; and with the mortifying Words just now mention'd. In allusion to this is that of *Juvenal. Sat. 10.*

*Quippe tenet sudans hanc Publicus, & sibi Consul
 Ne placeat, curru Servus portatur eodem.*

C H A P. XXXIV.

Concerning Augustus Cæsar.

A^m *U*gustus the Founder of the *Roman* Empire, wou'd by no means admit of the Stile of *Dominus*, or *Lord*, for this is the Surname of God. Nevertheless, I shou'd not ⁿ scruple to call the Emperor, *Lord*; but then it must be, when I am not compell'd to do it in a Sense peculiarly appropriated to God; for I am *Cæsar's* free-born Subject, and we have but one *Lord*, the Almighty and Eternal God, who is his *Lord*, as well as mine.

^m *Augustus, ne Dominum quidem dici se volebat.*] *Suetonius* in the Life of *Augustus*, writes thus of his refusing the Title of *Dominus*, or *Lord*, cap. 53. “*Domini appellationem, ut Maledictum & Opprobrium semper exhorruit, cum spectante eo Lucos, pronunciatum esset a Mimo, O Dominum æquum & bonum! Et Universi quasi ab ipso dictum exultantes comprobassent, statim manu vultuq; indecoras adulationes repressit, & insequenti die gravissime corripuit Edicto, Dominumq; se posthac appellari, ne a Liberis quidem aut Nepotibus suis, vel serio vel joco passus est; atq; hujusmodi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit.*”

ⁿ *Dicam plane Imperatorem Dominum, sed more communi, &c.*] If the *Quakers* wou'd be determin'd by *Tertullian*, a Person of great Mortification, a mighty stickler for any thing which had the least Appearance of extraordinary Piety, and withal an exceeding Admirer of *Montanus*, and the False Pretenders to the Spirit, of that Age. They might hear him in this place frankly declaring, that he shou'd make no Scruple to call the Emperor *Dominus* or *Lord*, to own him *Supreme*, or as he in the foregoing Chapter expresses it, *Subject to God only*, provided this Term *Dominus* might be taken in the common Sense, and no ways intrench upon the Prerogative of God. And this *Proviso* he had Reason to make, because the Adoration of Emperors was then grown into Fashion.

But

But why shou'd you call him *Lord*, who is stil'd the Father of his Country? Surely that Name of Affection sounds sweeter much than that of Power; and they had rather be call'd *Fathers of great Families*, than *Lords of Slaves*. But if *Augustus* wou'd never assume the Title of *Lord*, he wou'd much less have thought it *Cæsar's* Due to have been stiled God; a Flattery not only most fulsome, but of a most destructive Influence to both Parties. 'Tis just as if you shou'd pass by the rightful Emperor, and give his Title to another; wou'd not this be an unpardonable Offence in you, who give the Title, and Fatal to him who takes it? Let me advise you therefore as you tender *Cæsar's* Safety, not to rob God of his Attributes, to bestow 'em upon *Cæsar*; forbear to believe that there is any other God, and to stile him God, who stands in need of God ev'ry Moment of his Being. But if you are Proof against all Shame, and can daub the Emperour with such a Lie of a Title, as you do by calling such a Mortal, God; at least, methinks, you shou'd be afraid of having such an ill-boding Name in your Mouths, for 'tis a kind of Imprecation against *Cæsar's* Life, to call him a God before the time of his *Apotheosis*,

C H A P. XXXV.

*Concerning the different Observation of
publick Festivals between the Christi-
ans and the Heathens,*

CHRISTians therefore lye under the *Odium* of publick Enemies, because they join not in the publick Flatteries, in the false fantastick Honours which are dedicated to Emperors upon publick Festivals ; because the Professors of the true Religion ° celebrate such Solemnities with Sobriety of Conscience, and not with the Liberties of a dissolute Joy. A mighty Instance of Loyalty no doubt ! to make Bon-fires, to bring out Tables, and feast in the Streets, and P Metamorphose the whole City into a Tavern ; to make the Conduits run Wine, and see the Mob suck up Dirt and Liquor together, and run about in Troops like mad into all the Confusions of Injury, Impu-

° *Vera Religionis Homines etiam solemnia eorum, conscientia potius quam lasciviam celebrant.*] Here you have another Instance of the Primitive Christians complying with heathen Solemnities, so far as was consistent with Innocence. The Festival here mention'd seems to be a Day of rejoicing for the suppressing the Faction of *Niger* and his Adherents. The Christians made no Scruple to observe the Day with a conscientious Mirth, tho' they wou'd not join in the publick Debauchery.

° *Civitatem tabernæ habitu abolefacere.*] To metamorphose the City into a Tavern. Agreeable to this Description is that of *Marcial*, lib. 7.

*Tensor, Caupo, Coquus, Lanius, sua limina servant,
Nunc Roma est, nuper magna Taberna fuit.*

dence and Lust, their heated Imagination prompts 'em to. Is such a Scene of publick Shame, a proper Expression of publick Joy? And are these becoming Practices upon an Holy Day, which upon any Day are abominable? Shall they who seem so mighty devout for *Cæsar's* Safety, be so mighty drunk for *Cæsar's* Safety too? Shall Licentiousness pass for Loyalty, and Luxury for Religion? O the just Condemnation of Christians! For why shou'd we dare to be so singularly Sober, Chast, and Honest upon *Cæsar's* Birthday, and be so unfashionably Religious in discharging our Vows and Rejoycings for Him? When all the World has given such a Loose to Joy, why don't we do so too, and darken our Gates with ^a Laurels, and put out the Day with Illuminations? For certainly 'tis a very fine Figure to see your Houses upon Holy Days dress'd up in the Fashion of the Stews.

But touching the Religion upon these sacred Festivals to *Cæsar*, who is the second Majesty next to God, and upon whose Account we are conven'd as guilty of a second Sacrilege, for not celebrating these Days accord-

^a *Cur die lato non Laureis Postes obumbramus?*] Juvenal speaking in the Person of the People applauding the Emperor's happiness upon the Overthrow of his Enemy, says, *Pone domi Laureos.* Sat. 10. And so again, Sat. 6.

Ornentur Postes, & grandi Janua Lauro.

But this also (says our Author in the words following) was the Habit of the Stews; and lib. 2. *Ad Uxor. Procehit de janua Laureatâ & lucernatâ, ut de novo Conistorio libidinum Publicorum.*

ing to your Modes of Worship, which Temperance, Modesty and Chastity will not permit us to do. I wou'd set this matter, I say, in a better Light, and lay before you your own Allegiance and Sincerity, that we may judge whether they are not more to blame in this Point than Christians, who will not have us treated as *Romans*, but as Enemies of the State.

For the truth of this I convene the Populace of *Rome*, the Natives of the *Seven Hills*, and let them answer whether their Tongue, as much *Roman* as it is, has spar'd any of their own *Cæsars*? Let the Pasquills fix'd upon the Statue of *Tiberis* speak, and the *Circus* too, that Academy where Beasts are sent to learn the Art of killing Men with a better Grace.

Had Nature cover'd our Breasts with transparent Matter, so that we might look into the Peoples Heart; what Heart shou'd we see that was not inscribed with a Scene of *Cæsar's* fresh and fresh distributing the Doles to the People, which are usual at their first coming to the Throne? We shou'd see these Wishes, I say, in their Hearts for *Cæsar's* Death, even in the Moment that their Mouths are full of cry for *Cæsar's* Life, according to that of the Poet †.

*Shorten my Thread of Life, good Jove! from
mine*

Take many Years to lengthen Cæsar's Line.

† *De nostris annis tibi Jupiter augeat annos.*

But a Christian dares no more take their Words in his Mouth, than their Wishes in his Heart; but this you'll say is *Mob*, and to be consider'd as *Mob* only: But let me tell you this *Mob* are *Romans*, and the worst too of Enemies we have; the *Romans* then of better Rank are certainly better Subjects, and their Fidelity greater in proportion to their Quality; not a Man of the *Senatorial* or *Equestrian* Order, but is all Subjection; and not a Breath of Rebellion ever comes from Camp or Court. If so, whence came the ^r *Cassius's*, the *Nigers* and *Albinus's*? Whence those who set upon the Emperor *Commodus* between the two Lawrel Groves at *Lauretum*? And those who got him strangl'd at his Exercise with his Wrestling-Master *Narcissus*? Whence those who broke into the Palace Sword in hand, and murther'd *Pertinax*, in a more audacious manner, than *Domitian* was by the *Sigerius's* and *Parthenius's*? Now these Parricides (if I mistake not) were Men of Rank, and *Romans*; and not a Christian among 'em. And these Traytors just before the Perpetration of this horrid Impiety offer'd Sacrifice for *Cæsar's* Life, and swore by *Cæsar's* *Genius*, with Religion in their Faces, and Murther in their Hearts; and branded the Christians with the Character of publick Enemies. But the Principals and Abet-

^r *Unde Cassii, & Nigri, & Albini?*] Whoever has a mind to see a particular Account of these *Tyranni*, and those that adhered to them, may read the Life of *Avidius Cassius* in *Vulcatius*, the Life of *Niger* in *Spartianus*, and that of *Albinus* in *Capitolinus*. See also the Preface of *Baldwinus* before *Minutius Felix*.

tors of this wicked Conspiracy against *Severus* which are daily detected, and pick'd up as the ^s Gleanings after a Vintage of Rebellion. Bless me ! with what Loads of Laurel did they signalize their Gates on *Cæsar's* Birth-day ? With what extraordinary ^t Illuminations did their Porches overcast the Sun ? With what exquisite and Stately Tables did they take up the *Forum* ? Not in truth to celebrate the publick Joy, but to take Omens from hence of their own future Empire, and to inaugurate this Image of their Hopes, even upon *Cæsar's* Festival, by calling themselves in their Hearts by the Name of *Cæsar*. They likewise pay the same Observances, who are so officious in consulting ^u Astrologers, and Soothsayers, and Augurs,

^s *Post Vindemiam Parricidarum Racematio Superstes.*] How this Passage determines the time of this Apology, I have already mention'd ; and that it relates not to the Death of *Plautianus*, according to *Baronius*, *Tom. 2. Annal. p. 264.* And according to *Mr. Dodwell*, *Cypr. diff. 11. c. 51. p. 282.* But to the Death of *Pertinax*, is to me most probable from the History of *Zosimus*, *lib. 1.* Where he gives this account. *Καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀπαύριον, &c. Ante omnia (Severus) de Militibus qui Pertinacem necaverant, & Juliano tradiderant Imperium, acerba Supplicia sumpsit.*

^t *Lucernis vestibula enubilabant.*] It was the manner of the Grecians to express the Celebration of Festival Days, by *φωσὶ καὶ σεφανώμασι*, by Illuminations, and Coronets of Flowers. And *Persius* speaking of *Herod's* Birth-day, has these words,

*Undâq; fenestrâ
Disposita pinguem nebulam vomuere Lucernæ.*

But the Christians wou'd not express their Joy by Lights and Laurels ; and for Candles, we find an express Prohibition against 'em in the Apostolical Canons, *can. 70. Si quis Christianus oleum tulerit ad sacra Gentilium, vel Synagogam Judæorum, Festis ipsorum diebus, aut lucernas accenderit, de Societate pellatur.*

^u *Qui Astrologos & Aruspices, & Augures, & Magos de Caesarum capite consultant.*] Our Author mentions these several sorts

Augurs, and Magicians about the Life of the Emperors; for these Fortune-telling Arts deliver'd by fallen Angels, and interdicted by God, the Christians never apply to in any Cause of theirs. For what Business has a Man to be so curious about *Cæsar's* Life, who has no Designs against it, or Expectations from it? For we seldom ask Questions about our dearest Friends, with the same Intent as we do about our Masters; and the Solitude of Relations, and the Curiosity of Slaves, is generally upon very different Principles.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Concerning the Christian Duty of Loving Enemies.

IF the Case be thus, that such as are found Traytors in the very Fact, shall be indulg'd the Title of *Romans*, why are we deny'd the Benefit of that Title, who are only thought Traytors? Can we not be *Romans* without being Rebels, because so many *Romans* have been found Guilty of Rebellion? That Piety, Veneration and Loyalty therefore which is due to Emperors, does not consist in the foremention'd Shews of Duty, which even Rebellion

of Conjurers, because many of 'em had been put to death upon this Account by *Severus*: For thus *Spartianus* in his Life of *Severus*, *Multos etiam, quasi Chaldaeos, aut vates, de sua salute consulissent, interemit.*

cloaks her self in to pass undiscover'd, but in such Virtues, as civil Society finds necessary to be practis'd sincerely towards Prince and People. Nor are these Actions of a virtuous Mind, looked upon by us as a Tribute due to *Cæsar* only; for we have no Respect of Persons in doing good, because by so doing we do good to our selves, who catch at no Applause or Reward from Men, but from God only, who keeps a faithful Register of our good Works, and has ample Rewards in store for this universal Charity; for we have the same good Wishes for Emperors, as for our nearest Friends. To wish Ill, to do Ill, to speak Ill, or to think Ill of any one, we are equally forbidden without Exception. What is Injustice to an Emperor, is Injustice to his Slave; and that which is unlawful against the Meanest, is much more so against the Greatest of Men; and him too especially who came to this Greatness by the Appointment of God.

C H A P. XXXVII.

A Continuation of the unlimited Love of Christians.

IF then (as I have elsewhere declar'd) we Christians are expressly commanded by our Master to love our Enemies, whom then have we left to hate? And if when hurt, we must not return the Evil, for fear
of

of being like the rest of the World, where shall we find a Man to hurt? How well we practise this Command of our Master, you your selves can tell with a witness; for how many times, partly in compliance with a brutish Passion, partly in Obedience to the Laws, have you Judges shewed a most Savage Cruelty to Christians? How often without your Authority, has the hostile Mob of their own meer Motion invaded us with Showers of Stones and Fire? The Mob, I say, who acted with the Furies of a *Bacchanal* spare not even a dead Christian; but tear him from the Quiet of a Tomb, the sacred Refuge of Death, and mangle the Body, hideously deform'd already, and rotting to pieces; and in this rueful Condition drag it about the Streets. But now in all this Conspiracy of Evils against us, in the midst of these mortal Provocations, what one Evil have you observ'd to have been return'd by Christians? Whereas we cou'd in a Nights time with Links and Firebrands in our Hands have made our selves ample Satisfaction by returning Evil for Evil, had we not thought it unlawful to quit the Score of one Injury with another. But God forbid! that any of this divine Sect shou'd seek Revenge by Fire, after the manner of Men or grudge, to suffer what is sent to refine them.

But if we wou'd not Revenge our selves in the dark, but as professed Enemies engage you in the open Field, do you think we cou'd want Forces? The *Moors*, and *Marcomans*, and *Parthians*, which you have lately conquer'd,

or any other People within the Bounds of a Country, are more numerous perhaps than those who know no other Bounds than the Limits of the World. We are but of yesterday, and by to Day are grown up, and overspread your Empire; your Cities, your Islands, your Forts, Towns, Assemblies, and your very Camps, Wards, Companies, Palace, Senate, *Forum*, all swarm with Christians. Your Temples indeed we leave to your selves, and they are the only places you can name without Christians. What War can we now be ^{*} un-
prepar'd

^{*} *Cui bello non Idonei, &c ?*] In the Preliminary Discourse to this Apology, I have shewn at large from this and the foregoing Chapters, that it was not for want either of Strength or Courage, that the Primitive Christians sat still and suffer'd; but purely the Reverence they bore to the Character of God in the Emperor, ty'd their Hands, and secur'd their Passions, and perfectly got the better of Self-Preservation: It was the Doctrine and Example of their suffering Master which made 'em content to go this rugged way to Heaven; and I cannot but think this extraordinary, supernatural Patience, a mighty strong and moving Argument for the truth of Christianity, to see its Professors in such Numbers, and for some Ages, so willingly comply with a Religion, which as *Tertullian* says, taught Men they must choose *rather to be killed than to kill*. But because the Measures of Christian Obedience to the supreme Powers are no where better argu'd, and more clearly stated both from Scripture and Antiquity, and from these Passages, than by the Right Reverend and learned Bishop of *Sarum* himself in his *four Conferences*, printed at *Glasgow*, in the Year 1673. I recommend the Reader for fuller Satisfaction on this Head to those excellent Dialogues. However, for fear they shou'd be out of Print, I shall give him a Taste for his Encouragement to read the whole. Thus then he expresses his Zeal with a justifiable Primitive Warmth, p. 17. "Whatever other Cases allow of, certainly
" the Defence of Religion by Arms is never to be admitted; for the
" Nature of Christian Religion is such, that it excludes all carnal
" Weapons from its Defence. And when I consider how expres-
" ly *Christ* forbids his Disciples to resist Evil, Mat. 25. 39. How se-
" verely that Resistance is condemn'd by *St. Paul*, and that Con-
" demnation is declar'd the Punishment of it, I am forc'd to cry
" our,

prepar'd for? And supposing us unequal in Strength, yet considering our Usage, what shou'd we not attempt readily? We whom you see so ready to meet Death in all its Forms of Cruelty, was it not agreeable to our Religion to be killed, rather than to kill?

We cou'd also make a terrible War upon you without Arms, or fighting a Stroke, by being so passively Revengeful, as only to leave you; for if such a numerous Host of Christians shou'd but retire from the Empire into some remote Region of the World, the Loss of so many Men of all Ranks and Degrees, wou'd leave an hideous Gap, and a shameful Scar upon the Government; and the very Evacuation wou'd be abundant Revenge. You wou'd stand

“ out, oh! what Times are we fallen in, in which Men dare against the express Laws of the Gospel, defend that Practice upon which God hath pass'd this Condemnation. *If whosoever break the least of these Commandments, and teach Men so to do, shall be called the least in the Kingdom of God*; what shall their Portion be, who teach Men to break one of the greatest of these Commandments, such as are the Laws of Peace and Subjection? And what may we not look for from such Teachers, who dare tax that glorious Doctrine of patient Suffering, as brutish and irrational; and tho' it be expressly said, *1 Pet. 2. 21. That Christ by suffering for us left us his Example how to follow his Steps*, which was follow'd by a glorious Cloud of Witnesses, yet in these last Days, what a Brood hath sprung up, of Men who are lovers of their own selves, Traytors, heady, highminded, Lovers of Pleasures more than Lovers of God, having a Form of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof, who creep into Houses, and lead Captive silly Women laden with Sins! It is our Sins that provoke God to open the bottomless Pit, and let loose such Locusts; but were we turning to God, and repenting of the Works of our own Hands, we might hope that their Power shou'd be taken from them, and that their Folly shou'd be made known unto all Men. Thus that great Prelate.

aghast at your Desolation, and be struck dumb at the general Silence and Horror of Nature, as if the whole World was departed. You wou'd be at a loss for Men to govern, and in the pitiful Remains you wou'd find more Enemies than Citizens ; but now you exceed in Friends, because you exceed in Christians.

Besides, who wou'd you have left to deliver you from the IncurSIONS of your invisible Enemies, who lay waſt both Body and Soul ? From the Devils I mean, from whose Depredations we defend you *gratis* ; and had we a Spirit of Revenge, it wou'd make the Passion full Amends, only to abandon you freely to the Mercy of those impure Beings ; but without the least Touch of Gratitude for the Benefit of so great a Protection, you declare a Sect of Men, which are not only not burthensome, but necessary, to be publick Enemies ; as we are indeed, but not in your Sense, Enemies not of humane Kind, but of human Errors only.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

That Christians can never be justly suspected of Designs against the State.

TH E Christian Sect therefore for a certain ought to meet with kinder Treatment than it does, and to be tolerated among

among other ^y lawful Societies, because it is a Sect from whom nothing Hostile ever comes, like the dreadful Issue of other unlawful Factions. For, if I mistake not, such a Multiplicity of Sects is suppress'd upon Reasons of State, that the City shou'd not be split into Parties, for such Breaches wou'd let in a general Disorder into all your popular Elections, Counsels, Courts, Assemblies, and publick Sights, by the ambitious Clashings of the contending Factions; and never more Reason to provide against such Disorders than now, when the Parties are sure not to want violent Hands for any Design, if they want not Money to pay them.

But for us who are stark cold and dead to all the Glories upon Earth, what Occasion can we have for Caballings? And in good truth nothing is farther from our Soul than the Thoughts of mixing in State Affairs, or in any private Designs; for we look upon our selves as Citizens of the World.

We ^z renounce your Sports, as much as we
condemn

^y *Inter licitas Factiones.*] The Politicians and Statesmen troubled not their Heads much about any Religion, but only to support that which was by Law establish'd, and there being a Law against the *Heteriæ* already mention'd, they prosecuted the Christians under the Notion of a Society dangerous to the State, among the rest without distinction. These Christian Meetings, *ubi congregantur oraturi, & verbi divini interpretationem accepturi, ac sacras Synaxes habituri*, they called *Conventicula*, saith *Heraldus. Vid. Observat. in Arnob. lib. 4.*

^z *Spētaculis vestris in tantum renunciamus, &c.*] This Charge of sequestering themselves from the publick Sports, and Pleasures, is urg'd against the Christians by the Heathen in *Minutius*; and 'tis certain they thought themselves oblig'd so to do by their Baptis-

condemn their Original, which we know is owing to Superstition and Idolatry, and never are present at any of your Diversions; we have nothing to do with the Madness of the *Cirque*, with the Obsceness of the Stage, the Cruelty of the Amphitheatre, and the Vanity of the ^a *Xystus*. The *Epicurean* Sect is tolerated in the exercise of their Pleasures, and why are we such intolerable Offenders for Non-conforming with you in point of Pleasure? Nay, if Mortification is the Christian Pleasure, where's the Harm to you; if it be an Harm, it is to our selves only. But thus it is, your Pleasures are our Aversion, and ours affect not you.

mal Vow, which was an Engagement upon their Admission, to Renounce the Devil and all his Works, Poms and Pleasures, that is, saith St. Cyril, *Cat. myst.* 1. p. 510. *The Sights and Sports of the Theatre, and such like Vanities.* They look'd in good Truth, upon these publick Pastimes, not only as Scenes of Folly and Lewdness, but of Idolatry; as Places, where the Devil eminently rul'd, and reckon'd all his own who came there; and accordingly *Tertullian de Spect.* cap. 26. p. 83. tells us of a Christian Woman who going to the Theatre, was there possess'd by an evil Spirit, who upon his Ejection being demanded how he durst set upon a Christian, immediately reply'd, *I did but what was just and fitting, for I found her upon my own Ground.*

^a *Cum Xisti vanitate.*] The *Xystus* was a Gallery or Portico of great length and breadth, and planted about with Trees, where in the Winter time the *Athleta* perform'd. *Vid. Alex. ab Alex. Tom. 2. cap. 9. p. 659.* It was certainly a Place too where Philosophers and Men of Learning met, for here 'twas *Justin Martyr* met and disputed with *Trypho* the Jew.

C H A P. XXXIX

Concerning the Discipline of Christians and their Employments and Ways of living.

HAVING vindicated our Sect from the Calumnies of Rebellion, &c. I come now to lay before you the Christian Way and Fashion of living.

We Christians then are a ^b Corporation or Society

^b *Corpus sumus de conscientia Religionis, & Discipline Unitate.*] We are one Body by our Agreement in Religion, and our Unity of Discipline. I know nothing less understood, or less regarded, than Unity of Discipline; as if that was no Part of Church-unity; Forms of worship and Government are now to be pass'd over with Moderation, tho the ancient and best of Christians reckon'd Unity of Discipline, as well as Faith, necessary to make 'em Members of the same Body. Dr. Barrow a truly Moderate and good Man, in his excellent Discourse concerning the *Unity of the Church*, says, *That all Christians are one by a specifical Unity of Discipline, resembling one another in Ecclesiastical Administrations, which are regulated by the indispensable Sanctions and Institutions of their Sovereign. That they are all bound to use the same Sacraments, according to the Forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any substantial Alteration. They must uphold that sort of Order, Government and Ministry, on all its substantial Parts, which God did appoint in his Church: And a little after he says, that no Power ought to abrogate, destroy, infringe or violate the main Form of Discipline constituted by Divine Appointment. Hence the Meletians rejected by the Church, for introducing Ordinations. Hence was Acrius accounted a Heretick for meaning to innovate in so grand a Point of Discipline, as the Subordination of Bishops and Presbyters. Upon which grounds (says he at the Conclusion of his Discourse) I do not scruple to affirm the Recusants in England to be no less Schismatics than any other Separatists; they are indeed somewhat worse, for most others do only forbear Communion, these do rudely condemn the Church to which they owe Obedience, they strive to destroy it, they are most desperate Rebels against it. Another Person too of known Learning, the right Reverend Author of the Conferences*

Society of Men most strictly united by the same Religion, by the same Rites of Worship, and animated with one and the same Hope; when we come to the publick Service of God, we come in as formidable a Body as if we were to storm Heaven by Force of Prayer, and such a Force is a most grateful Violence to God. When this holy Army of Supplicants is met and dispos'd in goodly Array, we all send up our Prayers for the Life of the ^c Emperors, for their Ministers, for Magistrates, for the good of the State, for the Peace of the Empire, and for Retarding the final Doom.

ferences abovesaid, thus argues for Unity of Discipline, *Conf. 3. p. 275.* *If therefore the Worship of God among us continue undefiled, even in the Confession of all; if the Sacraments be administred as before; if the Persons who officiate, be Ministers of the Gospel, then certainly such as sepearate from our publick Meetings, do forsake the Assemblies of the Saints, and so break the Unity of the Spirit, and the Bond of Peace. And Page 280 he goes on, But if Separation be a Sin, it must have a guilt of a high Nature, and such as all who would be thought Zealous Watchmen, ought to Warn their People of. And what shall be said of those (even Churchmen) who at a Time when the Laws are sharply looked to, do join in our Worship; but if there be an unbending in these, they not only withdraw and become thereby a Scandal to others, but draw about them divided Meetings, are not these Time-servers? For if Concurrence in our Worship be lawful, and to be done at any Time, it must be a Duty which shou'd be done at all Times; and therefore such Masters of Conscience ought to express an Equality in their Ways, and that they make the Rules of their Concurrence in Worship, to be the Laws of God, and not the Fear of civil Punishment. Whoever would see more concerning the Nature of Church Unity, and the Sin of occasional Conformity, let him read the whole Conference.*

*Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro Ministris eorum, &c.] This, not without good reason, is thought to be the Common Prayer mention'd by St. Justin just before the Communion, and much the same with that in our Communion-service for the Church Militant; the Form whereof in the Apostolical Constitutions is described at large *Const. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. p. 881. and so lib. 8. c. 10. p. 1011.* which is still a farther Proof, that the Passage *sine Moxnore* ought not to be understood of *Extempore Prayer*.*

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We meet together likewise for the Reading of ^d holy Scriptures, and we take such Lessons out of 'em as we judge suit best with the Condition of the Times, to confirm our Faith either by forewarning us what we are to expect, or by bringing to our Minds the Predictions already fulfilled. And certainly our spiritual Life is wonderfully nourish'd with Reading the holy Scriptures, our Hopes thereby are erected, and our Trust fix'd and setl'd upon God : However besides the bare Reading, we continually preach and press the Duties of the Gospel with all the Power, and Argument we are able ; for 'tis in these Assemblies, that we ^e exhort, reprove and pass the

^d *Cogimur ad Divinarum literarum Commemorationem, &c.]* This is just the same almost with what you had in the Conclusion of *Justin's* Apology, and therefore the same Note may serve for both.

^e *Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura Divina,— Summumq; futuri Judicii Prejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit ut a Communicatione Orationis & conventus & omnis Sancti commercii relegatur.]* The Church subsisted now purely as a Spiritual Society independent on the State, and while it did so, and its Censures were manag'd *magno cum pondere*, as our Author speaks, with great gravity and Judgement, they were look'd upon as Divine, and an Anticipation of the Judgment to come. And had this inherent Power of the Church acted still independently, of the Civil Power, and the People been made sensible of the Necessity of the Communion of the Church in order to Salvation, I cannot see why Excommunication shou'd not have as good an effect, and be as much dreaded now, as in the Primitive times, upon the same Principles. However, thus much is observable from this Passage, That Men were first admonish'd and then reprov'd more severely, before the Sentence of Excommunication was pass'd. Secondly, That this Sentence excluded them from all religious Intercourse. And Thirdly, That it was looked upon as the Forerunner of future Condemnation in the World to come. To the same purpose *St. Cyprian* speaks *ad Pomponium*, *Spirituali Gladio Superbi, & contumaces necantur, dum de Ecclesiâ ejiciuntur : neque enim vivere foris possent,*
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the divine Censure or Sentence of Excommunication ; for the Judgments in this Place are deliver'd with all Solemnity, and after the maturest Deliberation Imaginable, as being delivered by Men who know they are pronouncing God's Sentence, and act with the same Caution as if God stood visibly among 'em ; and the Censures here pronounced are looked upon as an Anticipation of the Judgment to come, and the Sinner præcondemned by God, who has sinn'd to such a Degree, as to be shut out by his Ministers from the Fellowship of the Faithful, the Communion of Prayers and Sacraments and the rest of that sacred Commerce,

The ^f Presidents or Bishops among us, are
Men

cum Domus Dei una sit; & nemini salus esse, nisi in Ecclesiâ possit. The Proud and Contumacious are slain with the spiritual Sword, by being cast out of the Church; for they cannot live without (or be admitted into any other Church) since the House of God is but one; and there can be no Salvation to any, but only in the Church. And thus again, de Orat. Domin. p. 192. Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum Salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti & non communicantes a Cœlesti Pane prohibemur, a Christi corpore separamur. We receive the Eucharist ev'ry Day, as the Food that nourishes to Salvation; and while for any more grievous Offence we do not communicate, but are debarr'd from the heavenly Bread, we are separated from the Body of Christ. So far was this Martyr from thinking that Excommunication was little more than the Loss of a Grace-cup, or the Church-Ministers refusing him that Bread and Wine, which was not bought with his, but other Men's Money.

^f *Præsident probati quique Seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti.*] The presiding Elders here, are undoubtedly the same with the Πρεσβύτεροι in Justin Martyr's foregoing Apology, that is, the Bishops; for our Author speaking of the Power of excommunicating where it was lodg'd, tells us it was in the President, *ut extra Ecclesiam detur, inerat in Præsidentis officio, lib. de Pud. cap. 14.* And thus his Scholar St. Cyprian de Unitate Ecclesiæ, *Tenere firmiter, & vindicare debemus, maxime Episcopi qui in Ecclesiâ*

Men of the most Venerable Age and Piety, rais'd to this Honour not by the Powers of Money, but the Brightness of their Lives ; for nothing sacred is to be had for Money. That Kind of Treasury we have, is not fill'd with any dishonourable Sums, as the Price of a purchas'd Religion ; ev'ry one puts a little to the publick Stock, commonly once a ^s Month, or when he pleases, and only upon condition that he is both willing and able ; for there is no Compulsion upon any : All here is a Free-will Offering ; and all these Collections are deposited in a common Bank for charitable Uses, not for the Support of merry Meetings, for drinking and gormandizing, but for feeding the Poor and burying the Dead, and providing for Girls and Boys who have neither Parents nor Provisions left to support them, for relieving old People worn out in the Ser-

Ecclesia præsidemus. They were *Probati Seniores*, Men of Age, and publicly approv'd for their Life and Conversation. For thus again, *St. Cyprian in Epist. ad Felicem.* *Quod & ipsum videmus divinâ Auctoritate descendere, uti Sacerdos plebe præsentè sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atq; idoneus publico judicio & testimonio comprobetur.* Agreeable to the Practice of the Apostles, who left it to the Congregation as the most competent Judges to chuse fitting Men, and then they ordain'd them to the Office of Deacon by Prayer and laying on of Hands.

^s. *Modicam unusquisq; Stipem mensrua die, &c.*] We have *St. Paul, 1 Cor. 16. v. 1, 2.* Giving Order to the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth*, for *Weekly Offerings* for the *Saints*, *That upon the first Day of the Week* (when they never fail'd to receive the Sacrament) *they shou'd ev'ry one of them lay by him in store according as God had prosper'd him.* But I have already given Account of these Charities, and therefore only remark here, that according to *St. Paul's* Order, the Collections were weekly to the time of *Justin Martyr*, but in the Age following, that of *Tertullian*, we find these Offerings sunk to Monthly, *Mensrua die, &c.*

vice of the Saints, or those who have suffer'd by Shipwreck, or are condemn'd to the Mines, or Islands, or Prisons, only for the Faith of Christ; these may be said to live upon their Profession, for while they suffer for professing the Name of Christ, they are fed with the Collections of his Church.

But strange! that such lovely Expressions of Christian Charity cannot pass with some Men without a Censure; for look ye (say they) how these Christians seem to love each other, when in their Hearts they hate each other to death? How forward are they to stake down their Lives for one another, when inwardly they cou'd cut one anothers Throats? But the true Reason of this Defamation, upon the Account of styling our selves Brethren, I take to be this, because the Name of Brother is found with these Men to be only a gilded Expression of a counterfeit Friendship. But you need not wonder at this loving Title among Christians, when we own even you your selves for Brethren by the Right of one common Nature; altho' indeed you have cancell'd this Relation, and by being inhuman Brethren have forfeited the Title of Men; but by what diviner Ties are we Christians Brethren! We who all acknowledge but one and the same God, as our universal Father; who have all drank of one and the same holy Spirit, and who are all deliver'd as it were from one common Womb of Ignorance, and called out of Darknes into his marvellous Light. But may be, we cannot pass for right Brothers with

with you, because you want a Tragedy about the bloody Feuds of the Christian Fraternity; or because our brotherly Love continues even to the Division of our Estates, which is a Test few Brotherhoods will bear, and which commonly divides the dearest Unions among you.

But we Christians look upon our selves, as one Body inform'd as it were by one Soul; and being thus incorporated by Love, we can never dispute what we are to bestow upon our own Members. Accordingly among us, all ^h things are in common excepting Wives; in this alone we reject Communion, and this is the only thing you enjoy in common; for you not only make no Conscience in violating the Wife of your Friend, but with amazing Patience and Gratitude lend him your own. This Doctrine I suppose came from the School of the *Grecian Socrates*, or the *Roman Cato*, those wisest of Sages, who accommodated their Friends with their own Wives, Wives which they espous'd for the Sake of Children of their own begetting, as I imagin, and not of other Folks.

^h *Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos, &c.*] Dr. Potter observes from hence, that among many other Reasons why a certain Proportion for the Maintenance of the Clergy was not fix'd by the Apostles, this was one, that there cou'd be no Occasion to determine the Portion then, when Men laid all they had at their Feet; and the same Reason held good to our *Tertullian's* time, for he says here, that Christians *had all things in common but their Wives*. Vid. Dr. Potter's *Discourse of Church Government*, p. 434. I only observe farther, what great Veneration is due to the Writers of those Ages, when Men valued nothing but their Religion; and follow'd Christ in the highest Expression of Charity, in selling all they had for the support of Christians.

Whether

Whether the Wives are thus prostituted with their own Consent, in truth I cannot tell, but I see no great Reason why they shou'd be much concern'd about that Chastity which their Husbands think not worth keeping. O never to be forgotten Example of *Athenian* Wisdom ! O profound Instance of *Roman* Gravity ! *Socrates* the great *Grecian* Philosopher, and *Cato* the great *Roman* Censor are both Pimps.

But is it any great Wonder, that such charitable Brethren as enjoy all things in common, shou'd have such frequent Love-feasts ? For this it is, you blacken us, and reflect upon our little frugal Suppers, not only as infamously wicked, but as scandalously excessive. *Dio-genes*, for ought I know, might have us Christians in his Eye, when he said, that the *Megarenfians* feast as if they were never to eat more, and build as if they were to live for ever ; but ev'ry one sees a Straw in another's Eye, sooner than a Beam in his own ; or else you must be sensible of your own Beastliness in this Case ; for the very Air in the Streets is fower'd with the Belches of the People coming from their Feasts in their several Wards ; the *Salii* cannot sup without the Advance of a Loan, and upon the Feast of Tythes to *Hercules* the Entertainment is so very costly that you are forc'd to have a Book-keeper on purpose for the Expences. At *Athens* likewise when the *Apaturia*, or Feasts in honour of *Bacchus* for a serviceable Piece of Treachery he did, are to be celebrated, there is a Proclamation for all
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the choice Cooks to come in, and assist at the Banquet; and when the Kitchen of *Serapis* smoaks, what Baskets of Provision come tumbling in from ev'ry Quarter? But my Business at present is to justify the Christian Supper; And the Nature of this Supper you may understand by its Name; for it is the *Greek* Word for Love. We Christians think we can never be too expensive, because we think all is Gain that's laid out in doing Good; when therefore we are at the Charge of an Entertainment, 'tis to refresh the Bowels of the Needy, but not as you gorge those Parasites among you, who glory in selling their Liberty for stuffing their Guts, and can find in their Hearts to cram their Bellies in spite of all the Affronts you can lay upon 'em; but we feed the Hungry, because we know God takes a peculiar Delight in seeing us do it. If therefore we feast only with such brave and excellent Designs, I leave you from hence to guess at the rest of our Discipline in matters of pure Religion; nothing earthly, nothing unclean has ever Admittance here; our Souls ascend in Prayer to God, before we sit down to Meat; we eat only what suffices Nature, and drink no more than what is strictly becoming chaste and regular Persons. We sup as Servants that know we must wake in the Night to the Service of our Master, and discourse as those who remember that they are in the hearing of God. When Supper is ended, and we have wash'd our Hands, and the Candles are lighted up, ev'ry one is invited forth to sing Praises to God, either such

as he collects from the holy Scriptures, orⁱ such as are of his own composing; and by this you may judge of the Measures of drinking at a Christian Feast. And as we began, so we conclude all in Prayer, and depart not like a parcel of heated Butties, for scowring the

ⁱ *Post aquam manualem & lumina, ut quisq; de Scripturis sanctis; vel de proprio Ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere.*] Pliny, lib. 10. ep. 97. Reports it as a main Part of the Christian Worship, that they met together before Day to joyn in singing Hymns to Christ, as God. These Hymns were taken either out of the holy Scriptures, (and the Compiler of the Apostolical Constitutions mentions the 33d. Psalm, lib. 8. cap. 13. p. 1023.) or else such as were *de proprio Ingenio*, of their own Head, of their own composing; for it was usual at this time for any Persons to compose divine Songs in honour of Christ, and sing them in the publick Assemblies, till the Council of Laodicea order'd, that no Songs compos'd by private Persons shou'd be recited in the Church, *Can. 59.* The Dispute between us and the Dissenters, is, about the Sense of this Phrase, *de proprio Ingenio*, which they will have to signifie, *extempore Raptures*, in Vindication of their own Effusions; against which the Reverend Mr. Bennet argues thus; That allowing this Hymn to be *extempore*, yet it made nothing to the purpose, unless it cou'd be prov'd that the Congregation join'd in it. Secondly, He denies the Fact, that the Psalm was *extempore*; because no such thing as an *extempore Psalm* was ever heard of; those of David, tho' inspir'd, were notwithstanding precompos'd. Nor does Singing *de proprio ingenio*, Psalms of their own composing, imply that they were *extempore Psalms*, for Psalms *de proprio ingenio* are in this place oppos'd to Psalms *de Scripturis Sanctis*, taken out of Scripture, and not to precompos'd ones. Thus that judicious Person in his very laborious, and very valuable History of set Forms of Prayer, p. 243. which I had not the Satisfaction to see till 'twas too late to add any Improvements from him to my own Remarks upon that Passage, *Sine monitore quia de peſtore.* And therefore I recommend the Reader to his Eighth Chapter, p. 95. where he will find this Phrase largely and substantially treated. But after all, supposing these Hymns to have been *extempore*, yet 'tis granted on all Hands, that the Season of Miracles and Inspiration was not over in Tertullian's time, and therefore 'tis great Contempt of Authority and Presumption in them to pray the same way, till they can prove they have the same Gifts, especially since they find all such Effusions censur'd and forbid by the Council of Laodicea already cited.



Streets, and killing and ravishing the next we meet, but with the same Tenor of Temperance and Modesty we came, as Men who have not so properly been a drinking, as imbibing Religion. This Assembly of Christians therefore is deservedly rank'd among unlawful ones, if it holds any Resemblance with them; and I will not say a word against condemning it, if any Man will make good any one Article against it which is charg'd upon other Factions. Did we ever come together to the Ruin of any one Person? We are the same in our Assemblies, as at home, and as harmless in a Body, as apart; in neither Capacity injuring or afflicting any Person whatever. When therefore so many honest and good, pious and chaste People are met together, and regulated with so much Discipline and Order; such a Meeting, I say, is not to be called Factionous, but as orderly an Assembly as any of your Courts.

C H A P. XL.

That the Causes of publick Evils are most maliciously thrown upon the Christians.

ON the contrary, Faction is a Name which belongs to those only who conspire in the hatred of the Good and Virtuous; and remonstrate full Cry for innocent Blood, shel-
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tring their Malice under this vain Pretence, that they are of opinion forsooth that the Christians are the Occasion of all the Mischief in the World. If ^k *Tibur* overflows, and *Nile* does not; if Heaven stands still and withholds its Rain, and the Earth quakes; if Famine, or Pestilence take their Marches thro' the Country, the Word is, *Away with these Christians to the Lion*. Bless me! what so many People to one *Lion*? Pray tell me, what Havock, what a mighty Fall of People has been made in the World and *Rome*, before the Reign of *Tiberius*, that is, before the Advent of Christ? We read of *Hierannape*, and *Delos*, and *Rhodes*, and *Co*, Islands swept away with many thousands of their Inhabitants. *Plato* tells of a Tract of Land bigger than *Asia* and *Africa* together, devour'd by the *Atlantick Ocean*. Besides, an Earthquake drank up the

* *Si Tiberis ascendit in Mœnia, statim Christianos ad Leones.*] The overflowing of *Tiber* was look'd upon as an ill Omen, as we see by that of *Horace*,

Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis, &c.

That it was the hard Fate of the Christians to be continually charg'd as the Cause of all the publick Calamities, we find by *S. Cyprian ad Demetr.* p. 197. And in the very first page of *Arnobius adv. Gent.* Nay, so hor and lasting was this Calumny, that when the *Goths* and *Vandals* broke in upon the *Roman Empire*, *St. Austin* was oblig'd to write his Books *de Civit. Dei*, to silence this Objection. And so likewise for the same Reason did *Orosius* at *St. Austin's* Request write his seven Books of History. And *Melito Bishop of Sardis* in that Fragment of his Oration, which we have in *Eusebius*, pursues the same Design. *Vid. Euf. H. Eccl. l. 4. c. 26, p. 119, 120.* Whoever has a mind to be more particularly acquainted with the History of the following Calamities will meet with References in abundance in *Pamelius*, and therefore I shall say nothing to 'em.

Corinthian

Corinthian Sea, and an impetuous Force of Water tore off *Lucania* from *Italy*, and banish'd it into an Island, which goes now by the Name of *Sicily*. Now these Devastations of whole Countries, I hardly believe you'll deny to be publick Calamities. But where now, I do not ask, were the Christians, the profess'd Despisers of your Gods? But where, I tro', were your Gods themselves, when the Deluge blotted out the whole World? Or as *Plato* will have it, the Plains only. For that your Gods were not in being in the Time of the Deluge, the Cities wherein they breath'd their first and their last, as well as those they founded, are a Proof with a Witness; for had they existed before the Flood, they had not continu'd to this Day, but been overwhelm'd in the general Ruin. As yet the *Jews*, the Original of the Christian Sect, were not gone from *Egypt* into *Palestine*, when the adjacent Countries of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were consum'd by a Storm of Fire; the Land smells of burning to this Day, and the Apples that grow there are agreeable to the Eye only, but turn to Ashes upon the Touch. Besides, we have not a word of Complaint against the Christians from *Tuscany* or *Campania*, when Heaven shot his Flames upon *Volturnum*, and *Vesuvius* discharg'd his upon *Pompeium*. Was there any Worshipper of the True God at *Rome*, when *Hannibal* made such Havock of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, and computed the Numbers of the slaughter'd Gentry by Bushels of Rings pick'd up after the Battel? Were not all your Gods ev'ry where in Worship, when the *Gauls* surpriz'd

priz'd the *Capitol* ? And 'tis really worth observing, that in all these publick Evils, the Towns and Temples both are involv'd in the same Misfortune ; which wou'd not be, methinks, had your Gods any thing to do in the matter, because they wou'd hardly have a Hand in doing themselves a Mischief.

But wou'd you know the true Reason of such Judgments, you must know that Mankind has always serv'd God very ill ; first by a stupid Neglect of him ; for when they might have understood the divine Nature in some Measure, they wou'd not persue after it with their Understanding ; but let their vain Imaginations go after Gods of their own Invention. And secondly, because that when God had been at the expence of Revelation, they wou'd not be at the Pains of inquiring after it, nor be rul'd by that Master he had sent to teach them Righteousness ; and to take Vengeance on their Sins, God gave them over to a reprobate Mind to work all Uncleaness with Greediness. But had they went on as far as the Light of Nature, that Candle of the Lord, wou'd have led them, they had certainly found the God they look'd for, and consequently wou'd have serv'd him only, whom they found to be the only God ; and by this means have experienc'd his Mercies, rather than his Judgments : But now they lye under his just Judgments, and which too they have felt long before the Name of Christian had a Being in the World, and whose Goods Man enjoy'd long before he had made himself any Gods. Why will he not be persuaded

persuaded to think, that the Being who has done him the Good without any Thanks for his Blessings, is the same Being that does him the Evil for his Ingratitude, since ev'ry Person is so far guilty, as he is unthankful?

However, if we enter into a Comparison of past and present Calamities, we shall find the Account much abated since the coming of Christianity; for since that time the Innocence of Christians has temper'd the Iniquities of the Age, and there have been a Set of Men who knew the right way of deprecating the Vengeance of God. Lastly, when we are in great want of Rain, and the Year in Anxiety about the succeeding Fruits, then you are at your Baths and Debauches, and offering your ¹ Water Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, and ordering Processions on Barefoot for the People. You look for Heaven in the Capitol, and gape to the Clouds upon the Ceiling to dissolve in Rain, without ever turning your Eyes to the true Heaven, and applying to the true God, who is the only Help in time of need. But then in this great Droughth, we Christians sympathize with the World, and dry up our selves as it were with Fasting, and are exceedingly temperate in all respects, differing the most frugal Meals of Life, and rolling in Sackcloth and Ashes; and in this pitiable Posture, we

¹ *Aquilicia Jovi immolamus.*] These *Aquilicia* were the Sacrifices offer'd to *Jupiter* under great Scarcity of Water, *propter aquam eliciendam*; and thence called *Jupiter Elicius*, according to that of *Ovid*. *Fast.* l. 3.

*Eliciunt cælo te Jupiter, unde minores
Nunc quoq; te celebrant, Eliciumq; vocant.*

knock aloud for the Admission of our Prayers, with as much Importunity, as if we wou'd bring Odium upon Heaven for denying our Petition; and when we have, as it were, extorted Pity from our God by the Violence of Prayer, then forsooth, your *Jove* must have the Honour of the Grant.

C H A P. XLI.

Concerning the Cause and Reason of publick Calamities.

TIS not Christians therefore but your selves who are the Bane of human Affairs, you are the Men who are continually drawing down Judgments upon the World; you who set aside the True God, and set up Images in his stead. For certainly 'tis more reasonable to believe that ours is the God provoked, who is in contempt among you, and not those you have in Worship: Or verily yours are very unjust kind of Deities, who revenge themselves upon their Worshipers for the sake of Christians who will not worship 'em, and make no Distinction between Friends and Foes. But this, say you, reflects equally upon the God of Christians, for he makes no Difference between them and Heathens; but wou'd you understand the OEconomy of his Providence, you wou'd forbear this Reflection; for he who has once determin'd at the end of the

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the World to give ev'ry Man his everlasting Doom according to his Works, will not anticipate his own appointed Season, and make that Difference now, which he has said he will not make till the Conclusion of the World. In the mean while therefore the divine Providence smiles and frowns upon all Mankind without Distinction, and scatters Good and Evil with an indifferent Hand ; that the Pious and the Impious might have both a Taste of Happiness and Misery during this present State of things ; and because we know the Reason of these Proceedings from God himself, therefore we have a due Sense both of his Kindness and Severity, but both to you are contemptible ; and therefore it follows, that all the Evils which are sent by God upon the World, are sent for our Admonition, and your Punishment. But we are no ways concern'd with what befalls us here, because in the first place our great Concern is to get out of the World as fast as we can. And because in the next place what Misfortunes do fall, we know that they are your Provocations which have pull'd 'em down ; and when they do fall upon us, as without a Miracle they must, considering how we are blended together in this World, we rejoice and are exceeding glad to find the Miseries foretold verisfy'd in our selves ; and this sensible Fulfilling of divine Prophecies gives new Life to our Faith, and Wing to our Hope.

But if it be as you say, that they be the Gods you worship, who do you all this Mischief,
and

and for our sakes too, why do you continue such ungrateful and unjust Gods in Worship, who are so much oblig'd to vindicate and assist you to the utmost of their Almightyness against the Christians?

C H A P. XLII.

That the Christians are a very useful sort of People.

ANother Article we are indicted upon, is this, that we are a good-for-nothing, useless sort of People to the World; but how can this possibly be, since we converse with you as Men, we use the same Diet, Habit, and necessary Furniture? We are no *Brachmans*, or *Indian Gymnosophists*, who live in Woods and as it were in Exile from other Men; and we act as Men under the warmest sense of Gratitude to God our Lord, the Creator of all things; and we reject nothing he has made for the Use of Man. We are indeed very temperate in our Enjoyments, and cautious in transgressing the Bounds of Reason, and abusing the Favours of his indulging Providence therefore we come to your ^m *Forum*, we frequent your shambles, your Baths,

^m *Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, &c.]*
 You may observe from hence, that the Christians of old, as devout and religious as they were, yet they convers'd and traded with

Baths, your Shops, your Stalls, your Inns, and your Marts, and all other kinds of Commerce; we cohabit, we sail, we war, we till, we traffick with you; we likewise communicate our Arts and work for the Publick; and notwithstanding all this, how we shou'd be of no Service to the publick, is a Thing quite past my understanding.

But what if I don't frequent your Festivals, I hope I may be a Man, and have Hands and Feet for the Publick at that Time, as well as any other? If I don't bathe about Night at your ⁿ Saturn's Feasts, 'tis because I am a better

with the heathen World; were active and diligent in their secular Professions, and refus'd no Calling wharver that was innocent in it self, and useful to the Publick; for had they been never so good, and liv'd only to God and themselves, in Woods and Cloysters, they had not been *shining Lights*, but *Candles* under a Bushel. Fishers of Men must converse with Multitudes, to spread their Nets to greater Advantage and for larger Draughts; and we find by all the *Apologists* that they caught as many by their Examples, and preach'd as powerfully with their Lives, as their Sermons. And as the *Jews* were hated for their Reserv'dness, Selfishness, and ill Nature, and therefore made little Progress; so on the other hand, the Christians were as much admir'd even by their Enemies, for the Sweetness of their Temper, their Patience, and unbounded Charity, and therefore spread the more prodigiously.

ⁿ *Non labor diluculo Saturnalibus, &c.*] The *Saturnalia* were noted Feasts in the Month *December*, blessed Times of Liberty, wherein the Servants all sate at Table and the Masters waited. See more of this in *Macrobius Saturnal.* lib. 1. cap. 7. And *December* being a cold Season, our Author jeeringly tells them that he did not much like Bathing so early, and that it was time enough for washing and being made stiff with cold when he was dead, alluding to the Custom of washing the dead which was very ancient; according to that of *Ennius*—

Tarquinji Corpus bona fœmina lavit & unxit.

ter Husband for the Publick, than to wash a-way Day and Night to so little Purpose ; however I bathe at proper Hours for my Health Sake, 'tis time enough in Conscience to grow stiff and pale with washing when I am dead. I don't care for feasting with you in publick, upon the Festivals of *Bacchus*, because methinks I look like one of those condemn'd Wretches who at these Feasts is supping his last ; and when you have given him his Belly full you throw him to your Beasts. But however at this time, somewhere or other I do eat and of some such Victuals too as you eat. I lay out no Mony in Chaplets of Flowers to crown my Temples, and pray how is your Interest concern'd, which way I dispose of my Flowers ? 'Tis more agreeable to me to see 'em free and loose and scatter'd about in a grateful Confusion ; but yet when they are wreath'd into a Garland, even then 'tis my way to apply 'em to my Nose ; let them if they please apply 'em to their Head, who smell with their ° Hair. We come not to your
lights

The *λῦτρα πανύδαλα* (as *Electra* in *Euripides* calls it) extreme Washings, or washing the dead Bodies, was accounted so necessary a Thing, that towards the Conclusion of *Plato's Phædo*, Sect 47. Edit. *Cantab. Select. Dial.* we find, that *Socrates* when he intended to drink his Poison, thought it best to set about washing himself before hand to save the Women the Labour.—*χεδόν τι μοι ἄρα τραπέθαι πρὸς τὸ λυτρὸν. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἥδη βελτίον εἶναι λουόμενον πιεῖν φάρμακον, ἢ μὴ πρῶτα λῦτρα ἔχειν γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λῦαν.* And we find this Custom of washing the dead in the Acts of the Apostles cap. 9. v. 37. And it came to pass in those Days, that she (*Tabitha*) was sick and died ; whom when they had washed, they lay'd her in an upper Chamber.

• *Non erit capiti coronam — Viderint, qui per capillum odorantur.*]

sights, but if we want any thing which is brought thither, we freely go and buy it at those Places where 'tis ordinary sold. We buy no Frankinsense, and if the *Arabians* complain, let the *Sabæan* Merchants know, that we take off greater Quantities of more costly Spices for the ^p Embalming our dead, than others do for incensing their Gods. Certainly, say you, the Rates for the Temple now come to nothing, and who can brag of any Colle-

In reference to this, but in a more intelligible Expression, is that of *Minutius*,—*sane quod caput non coronamus ; ignoscite, Auram boni Floris naribus ducere, non occipitio capillisve solemus haurire.*

^p *Sciant Sabæi, pluris & carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis, &c.*] Thus again we have it in *Minutius*. *Reservatis unguenta Funeribus.* The Primitive Christians were very careful about Funerals, and very costly in their Spices and Odors for Embalming their Dead ; and therefore when St. *Polycarp* was put to death they burnt his Body in spite to the Christians, who had begg'd it of the Proconsul, in order to embalm it and give it a solemn Interment ; whereupon they gather'd up the Bones and decently committed them to the Earth, and there us'd to meet and celebrate the Memory of that Holy Martyr. *Vid. Euseb. H. Eccles. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 135.* This cost (says Dr. *Cave* *Prim. Christian. Part the 3^d. chap. 2^d. p. 275.*) the Christians doubtless bestow'd upon the Bodies of the Dead, because they looked upon Death as the Entrance into a better Life, and laid up the Body as the Candidate and Expectant of a joyful and happy Resurrection. Besides, hereby they gave some Encouragement to suffering, when Men saw how much Care was taken to honour and secure the Reliques of their Mortality, and that their Bodies shou'd not be persecuted after Death. And I take leave to add, that considering how very careful the first Christians were to follow the Scriptures even in Ceremonies indifferent, I question not but finding how *Joseph* was embalmed, *Gen. 50. v. ult.* And especially considering how the *Alabastrer-Box* of Ointment of *Spikenard*, very precious, was approv'd by our Lord himself for his own Burial, in that of St. *Mark. c. 14. v. 8.* *She has done what she cou'd, she is come before hand to anoint my Body to the burying.* I doubt not I say, but this prevail'd very much with the first Christians to be so expensive in their Spices upon the Dead.

ctions for the Gods? And really we cannot help it, for in Good truth, we are not able to relieve such a parcel of Beggars, both of Gods and Men; we think it very well, if we can give to those that ask; and I will pass my Word, that if *Jupiter* will but hold out his hand, he shall fare as well as any other Beggar. For we bestow more in the Streets, than you with all your Religion do in your Temples: However if your Temple Wardens have reason to complain against Christians, the Publick I am sure has not, but on the contrary very great reason to thank us for the Customs we pay with the same Conscience, as we abstain from stealing. So that was the Account fairly stated, how much the Publick is cheated in its Revenues by the Tricks and Lyes of those of your Religion, who bring in an Inventory of their Goods in order to be tax'd accordingly; you wou'd soon find, I say, at the Foot of the Account, that what the Temple may lose in her Offerings by the Christian Religion, the State sufficiently gets in her Taxes by the Christian Fidelity in their Publick Payments.

C H A P. XLIII.

*A farther Vindication of the Usefulness of
Christians to the Publick.*

BUT shall I tell you, who the Gentlemen be, if there be any in good Truth, who make these heavy Complaints of the Unprofitableness of Christians to the Publick? Why, first they are your Panders, and ^a Pimps, and filthy ^r Plyers about your Baths, next, your Cut-throats, Poisoners, and Magicians; lastly your Soothsayers, Wizards, and Astrologers: These are the Gentlemen, we Christians are so useless to, and I think 'tis very well for the Publick we are so; however if you are Sufferers in any thing by Christians, they make you ample Recompence another way; for what a valuable Blessing is it you are in Possession of, in having such a People among you, who are not only your Defence against Devils, and always upon their Knees to the true God in your

^a These *Perduflores*, are much the same with *Lenones*, according to that of *Horace*

——— *Putasne*
Perduci poterit, tam fugi tamq; pudica?

^r *Aquarioli*] Filthy Plyers about Baths. *Aquarioli* (saith *Festus*)
dicebantur Mulierum impudicarum Affecta. And are what *Martial*
calls *Balneatores*———

Certe Lucernâ Balneator extinctâ
Admittat inter bustuarias mœchas.

Behalf

Behalf ; not to insist upon this, I say, what a Treasure is it barely to have such People to serve you, as you are sure will never do you any Harm.

C H A P. XLIV.

That the Christians are condemned merely upon the Account of their Name.

BUT your Reason is so entirely blinded with Prejudice, that you have not an Eye left to see the publick Damage, a Damage as visibly great as true. Not a Man weighs what the common Injury amounts to by thus depopulating the Empire of the most just and innocent Subjects in it ; 'tis hardly credible to imagin how many Christian Prisoners you Judges destroy at every Gaol Delivery, but only their Trials are upon Record. Among all this number of Criminals, and this Variety of Indictments, what Christian do you find arraign'd for assassinating, or for a ^s Pick-pocket, or for Sacrilege, or for pilfering at the Bath ? Do you hear at the Trials any Article against Christians, like that which other Malefactors are charg'd withal. Does not the Prison sweat with your Heathen Criminals continually ? Do not the Mines continually

* *Manticularius.*] A Pick-pocket. Of this Word *Festus* speaks thus ; *Manticularum usus pauperibus in nummis recondendis etiam nostro sæculo fuit, unde Manticularii dicebantur qui furandi gratiâ mantículas ostreabant.*

groan with the Load of Heathens? Are not your wild Beasts fatted with Heathens? And is not the whole Herd of condemned Wretches which some publick ^r Benefactors keep alive for the entertainment of the Amphitheatre, are not they all of your Religion? Now among all these Malefactors, there's not a Christian to be found for any Crime, but that of his Name only, or if there be, we disown him for a Christian.

C H A P. XLV.

Concerning one great Reason for the Innocence of Christians above that of all other People.

WE then are the only harmless People among you, and where's the Wonder, if it can't well be otherwise? As in truth it cannot, considering our Education; for the Innocence we are taught, we are taught from God, and we know our Lesson perfectly well, as being reveal'd to us by the Master of all Perfection, and we observe it faithfully as the

^r *Munerarii*.] Such Sports and Plays which were exhibited by private Men at their own Charges in order to ingratiate with the People, were called *Ludi honorarii*; and those of this Nature, were for the most part either Fencing or Stage-Plays: Fencing is that which is here meant, and because freely bestowed, called *Munus*, and the Bestowers of 'em *Munerarii*. In allusion to this, is that of St. Jerom, *Munerarius Pauperum, & Egentium Candidatus*. *Epist. ad Pamiliach.*

Command of an All-seeing Lawgiver, who we know is not to be despis'd but at the hazard of eternal Happiness. Whereas your Systems of Vertue, are but the Conjectures of human Philosophy, and the Power which commands Obedience, merely human; and so neither the Rule nor the Power indisputable, and consequently the one too imperfect to instruct us fully, and the other too weak to command us effectually, both which are abundantly provided for by a Revelation from God. Where is the ^u Philosopher who can so clearly demonstrate

^u *Tanta est Prudentia Hominis ad demonstrandum bonum, quanta Auctoritas ad exigendum, tam illa falli facilis, quam ista contemni.* Where is the Philosopher who can so clearly demonstrate the True Good, as to fix the Notion beyond dispute; and what human Power is, able to reach the Conscience, and bring down that Notion into Practice? For human Wisdom is as subject to Error, as human Power is to Contempt. 'Tis plain in Fact from the sad state of Darkness which overspread the World at the coming of our Saviour, that human Reason unassisted was not sufficient for the Establishment of true moral Righteousness; or to make one entire and perfect System of the Law of Nature. But supposing such a Body of Ethicks possible to be collected from the Writings of the Philosophers, as we find in the Gospel; how far must such a Collection fall short from a complete, steady, indisputable Rule of Morality? 'Tis all at most but human Wisdom, and that (as Tertullian says) is as Subject to Error, as human Power is to Contempt, and both consequently subject to Dispute. Had the Sayings of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, &c. any Authority? They were only the Sayings and Opinions of mere Men, and so might be rejected or embrac'd as Men thought fit; or if any part of the Doctrine of a Philosopher must go for Law, the whole must pass for such too, or else his Authority ceases. Such a System therefore of Morality as was not only perfectly agreeable to right Reason, but also of divine indisputable Authority in every Point, was wanting to the World before the coming of our Saviour, allowing mere human Philosophy, as perfect as you please in point of Truth. Such a System, I say, was wanting which was not only right in every Rule, but of infallible Wisdom and Authority in every Precept, and easie and intelligible in all things necessary to every Understanding; and

strate the true Good, as to fix the Notion beyond dispute? And what human Power is able to reach the Conscience, and bring down that Notion into Practice? For human Wisdom is as subject to Error, as human Power is to Contempt. And therefore let us enter a little into a Comparison between your Laws and ours. Tell me then which do you take to be the fullest and completest Law, that which says, Thou shalt do no Murther, or that which restrains the very Passion of Anger? Which expresses greatest Purity and Perfection, the Law which prohibits the outward Act of Adultery, or that which condemns the bare Lust of the Eye? Which is the wisest Provision for Innocence, to forbid Evil-doing, or not to permit so much as Evil-speaking? Which the most instructing Lesson for the good of Mankind, to debar Men from doing Injury, or not so much as to allow the injur'd Person the common Privilege of returning Evil for Evil?

But this is not all, for I must give you to understand, that these very Laws of yours, which are but in the way to Perfection, are no more in good truth than a Transcript of the old Law of God, older by much than any Law of your making, but I have already lay'd before you the Antiquity of *Moses*.

But as our Law is more perfect in its Pre-

and the Gospel, and only the Gospel, is such a System, dictated by divine Wisdom, and confirmed by divine Authority, by such a Wisdom as is not subject to Error, and by such a Power as cannot be disputed.

cepts, so is it more cogent in its Penalties ; for pray tell me, what is the Force of human Laws? Which an Offender has oftentimes a Chance to escape either by lying hid in his Wickedness, or else by pleading Inadvertency or Compulsion. Reflect likewise upon the Shortness of human Punishment, which always ends with Life ; for this Reason you see how little *Epicurus* valu'd any kind of Torment, by laying down this for his Maxim of Comfort, *That a little Pain is contemptible, and a great one is not lasting.* But We who know we must account to a God who sees the Secrets of all Hearts ; We who have a Prospect of that eternal Punishment he has in store for the Transgressors of his Laws ; We, I say, may well be looked upon under so much Revelation, to be the only Men who always take Innocence in their way ; and considering the Omniscience of our Lawgiver, and that Darkness and Light to him are both alike, and withall weighing the Heaviness of future Torment, Torment not lasting only, but everlasting, we proportion our Fear and Obedience accordingly, fearing him who those Judges ought to be afraid of, who condemn Christians for standing more in awe of God than the Proconsul.

C H A P. XLVI.

That Christians have a better Right to a Toleration than Philosophers.

I Have now, as I think, stood the whole Charge, and reply'd to ev'ry Article, for which Men have been so deadly clamorous for the Blood of Christians; I have likewise laid before you our whole State, and the Ground of our Faith, namely, the Antiquity of the divine Scriptures most credibly attested, together with the Testimony and Confession of the very Devils themselves; he therefore that will take upon him to refute me, ought to disprove these Facts in the same Method and Simplicity as I have propos'd 'em, and not to fold himself in Quirks of Logick, or the Disguise of Eloquence.

In the mean time I cannot but take notice of the strange Incredulity of some Men, who notwithstanding they are convinc'd of the Excellency of our Sect, which they are notoriously sensible of by their Conversation and Dealings with us, yet they will not be convinc'd that Christianity is of diviner Original than mere humane Philosophy. For, say they, Philosophers prescribe and profess the same Doctrine as Christians, namely, Innocence, Justice, Patience, Temperance, and Chastity. But now if this Comparison be just, and Christianity and Philosophy be the same things,

A a 3

pray,

pray, what is the Reason that we have not the same Philosophick Treatment? Why are we not equal'd to those in Points of Privilege and Impunity, to whom we are compar'd in Points of Discipline? Why are not they who are of the like Profession with us, put upon the same Offices with us, and which we for refusing run the Risque of our Lives? But what Philosopher is compell'd to Sacrifice or swear by your Gods, or to hang out a parcel of insignificant Lights at Noon-day upon your Festivals? And yet these Philosophers * destroy your Gods openly, and write against your Superstitions, and with your Approbation into the bargain. Nay, many of 'em not only snarl, but bark aloud against the Emperors, and you bear it very contentedly; and not only so, but give 'em Statues and Pensions instead of throwing 'em to the Beasts for so doing; and all this, no doubt, with great Reason, because they go by the Name of Philosophers, and not Christians; a ^y Name which gives

* *Quin imo & Deus vestros palam destruunt,—laudentibus vobis.*]

These and the following words are plainly an Imitation, or rather a Translation of those in *Juslin Martyr. Apol. i. Sect. 4.* Καὶ τῶτων τινὲς ἀθεοότητι ἐδίδασκαν.—Κ' ἀκείνων τὰ διδασκάλια οἱ μὲν ἐχρόνιοι ἐν ἑσφοῖς τοῖς ὑμῶν, ἅθλα δὲ καὶ τιμὰς τοῖς ἐνφώ-
ως ὁβρίζουσιν τῶτοις τίβει.

^y *Nomen hoc Philosophorum Dæmonia non fugat.*] When the more sober and inquisitive Heathens took a stricter View of the Lives of the Preachers of the Gospel, and of their genuin Followers, instead of the common and rude Name of Impostors, they gave 'em the more civil Title of Philosophers, as we find from the beginning of this Chapter; *Sed dum unicuique manifestatur veritas nostra, quod usu jam & de commercio innotuit, non utique Divinum negotium existimant, sed magis Philosophia genus.* They cou'd not but own Christianity to be a more exalted kind of Philosophy, when they saw the

gives no Disturbance to the Dæmons, and how shou'd it? Since the Philosophers do these Dæmons the Honour, as to place 'em next the Gods. For it was a constant Form in the Mouth of *Socrates*, by my Dæmon's Leave, I will do so or so; yet even this same Philosopher after he had given such an Instance of his true Wisdom in denying the Divinity of your Gods, yet notwithstanding this (such was the Inconstancy of the Man) he order'd a Cock to be sacrific'd to ² *Æsculapius* just upon the Point of expiring, in gratitude, I suppose, to his Father *Apollo*, who had given him out for the wisest of Mortals. O inconsiderate *Apollo*! was you bewitched thus to ungod your self, by crying up such a one for the wisest of Men, who cry'd down the whole Race of Heathen Gods?

But for as much as Men of corrupted Minds have always a burning Hatred to Truth, so

the Christians live above the very Notions of the Philosophers. But the difference between the Life of a Christian and a Philosopher, was not the only Characteristick; for says our *Tertullian*, *Nomen hoc Philosophorum Dæmonia non fugat*. Philosopher is a Name the Devils value not, they stand in no awe of a Philosopher's Beard, nor will the Hem of his *Pallium* cure any Diseases. But Christians did not only out-live 'em in Vertue, but out-did 'em in Power. For *Christ* was a Name that made the very Devils tremble; a thing which the Philosophers with all their mighty Wisdom were so far from pretending to, that they worshipped these very Dæmons next to the Gods. So that Christianity and Philosophy differ just as much as Heaven and Earth, as a Name that can do every thing, and a mere empty Title.

² *Æsculapio tamen gallinaceum prosecari in sine jubeat.*] The last dying Words of *Socrates*, we have in the conclusion of *Plato's Phædo*, and they are these, ὦ Κείτων, ἔφη, τίς Ἀσκληπιῶ ὁφεῖται ἀμφοῖν ἀλεγεινὸν ἀλλὰ σπῶσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσασθαι.

her strictest Followers must expect to meet with the severest Usage; but he who adulterates Truth will be sure to have the Thanks of her Enemies for his Service. Accordingly Philosophers affect Truth only in Appearance, and this Affectation puts them upon corrupting her, for the glorious Vanity of a Name; but Christians are heartily and violently set upon pure Truth, and perform her Commands sincerely, as Men who have nothing to care for here, but in order to their Salvation hereafter; and therefore Christians both in respect of Conscience and Discipline notwithstanding your Comparison are very different Persons. And for a farther Proof of this Difference, consider what was the Answer that *Thales* the Prince of Naturalists made *Crasus*, when he was press'd by him plainly to declare his positive Notions of the divine Nature. Did not the Philosopher put off the Prince from time to time with his, *I will consider on it?* But the meanest Mechanick among Christians apprehends God, and can answer the Question; and can assign substantial Reasons, and very sensibly explain himself upon all these Disquisitions about the divine Nature; tho' *Plato* affirms it to be so difficult to find out the Creator of the Universe, and when found, to express himself intelligibly upon that Subject. But if you make a Challenge between Christians and Heathens, in point of Morals, let us enter the Lists, and begin with Chastity; and in the Trial of *Socrates* I read one Article of the *Athenians* against him for *Sodomy*; but

a Christian

a Christian keeps inviolably to one Sex, and one Woman. I find also that *Diogenes* could not lie contentedly in his Tub without his Mistress *Phryne*; and I hear of one *Speusippus* of *Plato's* School, slain in the very Act of Adultery; but a Christian is a Man only to his own Wife. *Democritus* by putting out his Eyes, because he could not look upon a Woman with Innocence, and was not easie within the Bounds of Chastity, sufficiently publish'd his Incontinence by his Cure; but a Christian can look upon a Woman securely, because his Mind is blind to all Impressions of that Nature. If the Question is about Probity or Sweetness of Temper, behold *Diogenes* with his dirty Feet treading upon *Plato's* stately Carpets, and crying he trampled upon *Plato's* Pride, tho' the Sloven did it with a greater Pride of his own; but the Christian expresses not the least Air of Haughtiness to the poorest Man on Earth. If we contend about Moderation with respect to worldly Greatness, behold *Pythagoras* affecting Tyranny at *Thurium*, and *Zeno* at *Priene*! But a Christian has not the Ambition to aspire even to the Office of an *Ædile*. If we compare *Æquanimity*, remember *Lycurgus* made away with himself, because he was unable to bear the Thought of the *Lacedemonians* correcting the Severity of his Laws; but a Christian after Condemnation is able to return Thanks to those who have condemned him. If you vye with us in Fidelity, there's your *Anaxagoras* who had not Fidelity enough to restore the Strangers the Goods they had deposited in

in his Trust ; but a Christian has the Name of Faithful , even among the Enemies of his Faith. If we dispute Humility, I must tell you that *Aristotle* cou'd not sit easie, 'till he proudly made his Friend *Hermias* sit below him ; but a Christian never bears hard, so much as upon his Enemy. The same *Aristotle* was as gross a Dawber of *Alexander*, to keep that huge Pupil under his Management , as *Plato* was of *Dionysius* for the Benefit of his Belly. *Aristippus* in his Purple, and under the greatest Shew of Gravity, was an arrant Debauchee ; and ^a *Hippias* was killed while he was actually in Ambush against the City, a thing which no Christian ever attempted for the Deliverance of his Brethren , tho' under the most barbarous Usage. But perhaps it may be reply'd, that some Christians are far from living up to their Profession, to which I reply again, that then they are as far from having the Reputation of Christians among those, who truly are so ; but yet Philosophers ; shall enjoy the Name and Honour of Philosophy among you

^a *Hippias dum Civitati insidias disponit, occiditur ; hoc pro suis omni atrocitate dissipatis nemo unquam Christianus tentavit.*] Concerning the several Crimes charg'd upon the Philosophers in this Catalogue, the Reader may find 'em sufficiently dilated on by the Commentators ; but that which I think mostly remarkable in this Comparison between a Philosopher and a Christian, is, that he concludes the whole with the Instance of Rebellion in *Hippias*, a thing (says he) which no Christian was ever heard to have attempted for the Rescue of his Brethren, tho' under the most provoking and barbarous Usage. This upon all Occasions he shews to be the distinguishing Character of Christians, this he triumphs upon, and therefore concludes the Period with Non-resistance, like an Orator who gradually rises higher and higher, and clinches all with that he thinks most likely to leave the deepest Impression.

in spite of the Wickedness of their Lives. And where's now the Similitude between a Philosopher and a Christian? between a Disciple of Greece, and of Heaven? a ^b Trader in Fame and

^b *Fama Negotiator, (& Vita.)* A Trader in Fame, and a Saver of Souls. *Philosophus Gloriæ Animal, & popularis auræ vile mancipium*; says, *Jeromad Julianum*. A Philosopher is an Animal of Fame, one who basely drudges for the Breath of the People. *Laëtantius* is not a little severe with *Cicero* upon this very Score, for thus he delivers himself in his second Book *de Origine Erroris*, Sect. 3. p. 67. *Can-tab. Edit. Intelligebat Cicero falsa esse, &c.* *Cicero* (says he) was very sensible of the Vanities in worship, and when he had said enough in all Reason utterly to overthrow the establish'd Religions, yet he concludes that these were Truths not to be told the People for fear of unhinging the Religions of the State. Now what is to be done with a Man who knows himself in an Error, and yet knowingly dashes upon a Rock, that the People may do so too? Who pulls out his own Eyes to secure others in Darkness; who neither deserves well of those he permits to wander, nor of himself, whom he associates with Practices he condemns; who makes no use of his Wisdom for the Regulation of his Life, but wilfully entangles himself to ensnare others, whom as the wiser Person he was obliged to rescue from Error. But, O *Cicero*! If you have any Regard for Virtue, attempt rather to deliver the People out of Ignorance; 'tis a noble Enterprize, and worthy all your Powers of Eloquence; never fear, but your Oratory will hold out in so good a Cause, which never fail'd you in the defence of so many bad ones. But *Socrates's* Prison is the thing you dread, and therefore Truth must want a Patron. But certainly, as a wise Man you ought to despise Death in competition with Truth; and you had fallen more honourably by much for speaking well of Truth, than for speaking ill of *Antony*; Nor will you ever rise to that Height of Glory by your *Philippicks*, as you would have done by labouring to undeceive the World, and dispute the People into their Senses. This I take to be a just Character, *Socrates* excepted, of all the Heathen Philosophers; they were Traders for Fame and enrich'd their Heads only to fill their Pockets; they never lov'd Truth well enough to suffer for her, nor would plead her Cause before the *Areopagus* or Senate at the hazard of their Lives; their Notions were unactive, and lay floating only on their Fancies, nor were the People nor themselves the better Men for their Philosophy; *Socrates's* Prison spoil'd all. How unlike to this was the Carriage of the Apostles and their genuine Followers? How did they engage in the defence of Truth? With what Zeal did they preach their crucify'd Master before Sa-

pedrim

and a Saver of Souls? between a Man of Words and a Man of Deeds? between a Builder up of Vertue, and a Destroyer of it? between a Dresser up of Lies, and a Restorer of Truth? between a Thief and a Guardian of this sacred *Depositem*?

C H A P. XLVII.

That the Heathen Poets and Philosophers stole many of their Notions from the Holy Scriptures.

THE ^c Antiquity of the divine Writings which I have already establish'd, wou'd be

nedrim and Senate, in the Face of all the discouraging Tortures witty Malice cou'd invent? They accounted no Hazards comparable to the Advantage the World wou'd enjoy by the Propagation of the Christian Philosophy; they rejoic'd they were counted worthy to suffer for the Name of Christ. This shew'd a truly noble and generous Spirit, that wou'd not be discourag'd from doing the World good, tho' the Benefactors met with such hard Usage for their Pains. This likewise shew'd the divine Power of the Christian Religion, that it was able to raise its Professors above all Considerations present, for the Joy that was set before them. Such was the difference between a Philosopher and a Christian, between a Disciple of Greece, and a Disciple of Heaven.

^c *Antiquior omnibus, &c.*] Was it not for fear of swelling this Tract beyond the Bounds of an Apology, *Tertullian* says, he wou'd enter into a particular Proof of the Antiquity of the holy Scriptures. The Reader will find this largely treated by *Eusebius* in his *Prapar. Evang.* where in the fifth Chapter, *lib. 10.* you'll see that the *Grecians* had not so much as the Use of Letters till *Cadmus* the *Phenician* introduced them, which the *Phenicians* had from the *Syrians*, that is the *Hebrews*, which border'd upon 'em. In this Chapter you will see also, not only the Affinity between the

be a proper Topick to insist upon here, in order to convince you, that those Writings have been the Treasury of all succeeding Wisdom; and this Topick I wou'd persue at large, was it not for fear of swelling this Apology to a Volume. But to be short, which of your^d Poets which

the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Alphabet, which I have already mention'd, but how all the two and twenty Letters in the *Hebrew* have their proper Signification, which in the *Greek* have no Meaning at all; which plainly proves the one to be but an imperfect Copy of the other, especially when the Letters are just almost the same in both, as *Alph*, *Alpha*, &c.

^d *Quis Poetarum, qui non omnino de Prophetarum fonte potaverit?*] The *Grecian* Bards of old, were the Instructors of the People, and Priests generally as well as Poets; they travell'd much into *Egypt* and other Parts, most noted for Antiquity and Learning; and from thence freighted themselves with ancient Traditions, which they set their Fancies to work upon, and so hack'd and hew'd and disguis'd the Originals, that 'twas hard to say from what Country they came; *Græcia Mendax* was a true Motto. I will not go about to shew particularly how the Poets have plunder'd the Prophets, since *Bochartus*, *Vossius de Idol.* and Bishop *Stillingfleet*, *Orig. Sac.* have so nicely traced the Plagiaries, and discover'd the Foundation of almost the whole fabulous Superstructure, in spite of all their Artifice to conceal it. However, it may not be amiss just to mention some of the ways they took to conceal and colour the Impostures. And one way was, to alter the *Hebrew* Name and put a *Greek* one in the Place of like Importance. Thus *Cham* or *Ham*, who either for his Minority or Undutifulness had his Share of Government allotted him in the barren Sands of *Africa*, and was there for many Ages worshipped under the Name of *Jupiter Hammon*, which the *Egyptians* by leaving out the Aspirate call Ἀμμὼν or Ἀμὼν according to that of *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*, Ἀμμὼν ὃ Ἀἰγυπτοὶ καλέουσι ἃ Δία. Thus, I say, for □□ Ham which signifies *fervidus* from the *Radix* □□□ *fervere*, they put Ζῆς, from Ζεῶ, which signifies the same in *Greek* with *Ham* in *Hebrew*. This *Ammon* had a Temple in the City *No*, as we find from that of *Jeremiah*, cap. 46. v. 25. *Behold I will punish the Multitude of No, and * In the Pharaoh and Egypt with their Gods.* That which we render the *Greek* *Ver-* *Multitude of No*, is in the Original * *Amon* de *No*, the God *Amon* sion of the whose Temple was in the City *No*. *Vid. Bochar. Phaleg. lib. 1. p. 5, 6. LXXII.* Another way of disguising their Thefts, was by taking the *Hebrew* in עֲשֹׂה עֲנִי its literal and proper Sense, thus finding *Noah* (whom *Bochartus* has שִׁמְשֹׁן & demonstrated Ἀμμὼν

which of your Sophisters have not drank from the Fountain of the Prophets? It is from these sacred Sources likewise that your Philosophers have refresh'd their thirsty iniquitive Spirits. From hence also it is that Philosophy has been proscribed some Countries, as *Thebes*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, for the monstrous Issue the produc'd from the adulterous Mixture of divine Truths with human Inventions; and no wonder since (as I have said) these Philosophers were Men of Glory only, and driven on with the Lust of Eloquence. Accordingly if they found any thing in our divine ^e Digests which hit their Fancies,

demonstrated to be the same with *Saturn*) to be called *Gen. 9. 20.* *איש הארמה* *vir Terræ*, a Husbandman, as *Vir Sarguinis*, *Vir Pecoris*, a Bloody Man, a Shepherd, *2 Sam. 16. 7.* *Gen. 46. 32.* A most familiar Phrase among the *Hebrews*, they take *vir Terræ* or *Husbandman* in a literal Sense for *אִישׁ הָאָרֶץ*, the Husband of the Earth; and so *Saturn* which was *Noah* is reported to have married *Rhea* that is the Earth. *Vid. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 3.* And so likewise where the *Oriental Languages* were ambiguous or equivocal, by omitting the obvious Sense and following the obscure, they spun out strange Stories. Thus again the great *Bochartus*, *lib. 4. c. 31.* has traced the Fable of the *Golden Fleece*, which was nothing but the robbing the Treasury of the King of *Colchis*, framed from the equivocal *Syriac Word* *כּוּא* which signifies both a Fleece and a Treasury; and so the Bulls and Dragons which kept it, were nothing but the Walls and brazen Gates, for *שׁוּר* signifies both a Bull and a Wall, and *נָחַשׁ*, Brafs and a Dragon. I shall mention but one *Grecian Artifice* more, which was by ascribing to some of their own Nation, what is recorded in the sacred History. Thus the *Thessalians* make *Deucalion* to be the Person who escaped the Flood, and from whom the World was peopled after it; and whoever compares the Relation of *Deucalion's Flood* in *Apollodorus*, *Biblioth. lib. 1. p. 19.* With that of *Moses*, may easily turn *Apollodorus's Greek* into the Language of Scripture, by only turning *Greece* into the whole Earth, and *Deucalion* into *Noah*, *Parnassus* into *Ararat*, and *Jupiter* into *Jehovah*. *Vid. Bishop Stillingfleet's, Orig. Sac. l. 3. cap. 5.*

^e *Si quid in Sanctis Scripturis offenderunt, pro instituto Curiositatis ad propria opera verterunt.*] In the foregoing Apology, *Justin Martyr*

Fancies, or might serve their Hypothesis, they took it and turn'd it and bent it to a compliance with their own Curiosity ; not considering these Writings to be sacred and unalterable, nor understanding their Sense, which was then

Martyr gives several Instances wherein *Plato* had stolen from *Moses* ; and *Clemens Alexandrinus Strom.* 1. calls *Plato*, τ' Ἐλεγίων φιλόσοφον. See *St. Austin de Doctr. Christ.* 1. 2. c. 28. de Civit. Dei, lib. 18. c. 41. and lib. 8. c. 11. But above all, see this great Philosopher hunted thro' all his Coverts, and traced home to the Prophets by *Eusebius* in his *Prepar. Evang.* 1. 11, 12, 13. and there you will find with what good Reason the Fathers charg'd the Philosophers in general, and *Plato* in particular, for thirking from the holy Scriptures, according to that of *Eusebius, Prepar. Evan. lib. 11. c. 10.* τὶ γὰρ ἔστι Πλάτων, ἢ Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων ; *Quid est aliud Plato, quam Moses Atticè loquens ?* *Origen* is of opinion that *Plato* by conversing with the Jews in Egypt, came acquainted with the History of the Fall of Man, which after his ænigmatical Way he describes in his *Symposiacs*, where he introduces *Porus* the God of Plenty feasting with the rest of the Gods ; after Supper *Penia* comes to the Door a begging ; *Porus* being drunk with *Nectar*, goes into *Jupiter's Garden*, and there falls fast asleep ; *Penia* observing it steals to him, and by this Cunting conceiv'd by him. In this Fable of *Plato*, *Origen* observes the Resemblance between *Jupiter's Garden*, and *Paradise*, and between *Penia* and the *Serpent*, &c. And he is the rather confirm'd in his Conjecture, because he knew it to be *Plato's* Custom to wrap up his sublimest Notions in Fable, for fear of disobliging the fabulous Greeks, who hated the Jews, and who wou'd have themselves pass for the wisest, if not the most ancient People ; and I may add too, that no body else might know from whence *Plato* had his Notions. *Vid. Orig. cont. Cel.* 1. 4. And as *Plato* purloin'd his divinest Discoveries from the Prophets, and perplex'd them on purpose to hide the Theft, so is it very remarkable, that the latter *Platonists*, such as *Jamblichus*, *Hierocles*, *Simplicius*, &c. talk in a kind of Evangelical Strain, and as much above *Plato* as the Apostles do above the Prophets ; and at the same time vilifie the Christians for a Blind to make believe, that there was nothing in the Christian Doctrine worth borrowing, just as their Master *Plato* had done before them. For 'tis to be remember'd, that *Plotinus*, *Porphyrus*, *Jamblichus* and *Hierocles* were brought up under the great *Ammonius* of Alexandria, as well as *Herennius* and *Origen*. This *Ammonius* both liv'd and dy'd a Christian, as *Eusebius* and *Jerom* testifie, *Hist. Eccl.* 1. 6. c. 19. *Hieron. de Script. Eccl.* and so instructed his Scholars in the

Christian

then under a Cloud to those carnal Minds, as it is at this Day to the very Jews, to whom they were appropriated. For if in any place Truth appear'd in its native Simplicity without the disguise of Type or Metaphor, worldly Wisdom instead of submitting her Faith blended the Certainties of Revelation with her own Philosophick Uncertainties; for having dipped in the holy Scripture, and found that there is no other God but one, they presently divided into various Speculations about the divine Nature, some asserting it to be incorporeal, others corporeal, as the *Platonicks* and *Stoicks*; some composing him of *Atoms*, and others of *Numbers*, as *Epicurns* and *Pythagoras*, and some of Fire as was the Opinion of *Heraclitus*. The *Platonists* likewise maintain his Care and Providence over his Creation; on the contrary

Christian Mysteries, as well as the *Pagan Philosophy*, at the same time. The not observing therefore that the admirable Discourses of these latter *Platonists* had their Rise from a *Christian Master*, has been the Ground of two scurvy Mistakes amongst some learned Criticks, namely, of overvaluing the *Platonick Philosophy*, as if in their Notions of the *Origine of Evil*, and the *Degeneracy of our Souls from their Primitive Purity*, &c. they out-did Revelation, tho' 'tis evident that their noblest Flights took wing from the Gospel. Secondly, of charging the *Primitive Fathers* with *Platonizing*, a Charge (as I have prov'd) they utterly deny, and on the contrary tax the Philosophers with *Christianizing*, or stealing from the Doctrine of Christ; which they wrested only to serve their *Hypothesis*, and without telling a word whence they had the Notion; and not only the Philosophers, but the Hereticks (says *Tertullian*) had got a Trade of blending Philosophy and Christianity together. And our Author complains not only here of this tampering with Scripture among Christians, but cries out in his *Prescription against Hereticks*, cap. 7. *Viderint qui Stoicum & Platonicum & Dialecticum Christianismum protulerunt*. And 'tis notorious of late Years what Attempts have been made to reform Religion by Philosophy, instead of making Philosophy bend to Revelation.

the *Epicureans* make him a careless unactive God, and as I may say, no body in the World. Again the *Stoicks* place him without the World, and turning the Globe about, like a Potter sitting without his Wheel: The *Platonists* place him within the World like a Pilot of a Ship steering the universal Vessel that contains him. In like manner we find these Sages at variance about the World it self, whether it was made or unmade, and whether it wou'd dissolve or last for ever. The same Disputes we find about the State of the Soul, some contending for it to be of a divine immortal Nature, and others of a Nature corruptible; every one inferring and reforming as the Maggot bit. Nor do I wonder to find the philosophick Wits play such foul Pranks with the Old Testament, when I find some of the same Generation among our selves, who have made as bold with the New, and compos'd a deadly Mixture of Gospel and Opinion, as the same philosophizing Vanity led 'em; and out of one plain Road have cut a World of Labyrinths and inextricable Mazes to confound Men in the way of Salvation: Which therefore I thought proper to advertize you of, that this noted Diversity of Opinions among Christians, shou'd not justify a Parallel between us and Philosophers, and make Men condemn Truth it self from the Contentions about it. But this in short is my ^f Prescription against these Adulterers of the Faith,

^f *Expedite enim prescribimus Adulteris nostris, illam esse Regulam veritatis quæ veniat a Christo transmissa per comites ipsius.*] I shall not here enter into the necessary Qualifications of a perfect Rule

Faith, to try all their Doctrines by the Gospel, that Rule of Truth which came from Christ, and was transmitted by his Apostles, that I say, is, the Touchstone by which all the different Opinions of succeeding Teachers is to be prov'd.

All the ^s Arrows that are shot at truth are

of Faith, and prove such Qualifications to be in *holy Scripture*, but observe only that supposing Philosophers to be in the Right, yet all their Reasonings were but the Reasonings of mere Men, and therefore fallible. No one System of Philosophy then could be collected from their Writings (granting all necessary Truths to lie scatter'd amongst them) for a standing authoritative Rule in Matters of Controversie, for such a Collection can be of no more Authority than the Collector, and must want a Sanction more than human; for all Men have a natural Right to Reason for themselves, till God determines it by a Rule divine: The Want of such a Rule therefore was a great *Desideratum* in the *Gentile World*; and this was one of the great Wants provided for by Christ's coming into the World, who is emphatically said to have brought *Life and Immortality to light thro' the Gospel*. The Heathens then of old, and the Deists at present vainly object against Christianity the many Differences about it; for, says *Tertullian*, there is an infallible Rule transmitted by Christ thro' his Apostles, which we apply to upon all Occasions to measure Doctrines by, and which is wanting to the Philosophers; and therefore all the fundamental Differences which arise among Christians, do not arise from any Fault in the Rule, but in themselves.

* *Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt, operantibus emulationem istam spiritibus Erroris.*] The Holy Scriptures being confessedly of divine Authority, the most effectual way of doing Mischief is not to decry them, but to put a Crown on their Head and a Reed in their Hands, and to bow before them, and cry, *Hail King of the Jews!* to pretend a mighty deal of Reverence to the Scriptures, and then crucifie 'em to their own Sense. This was always the Way of Hereticks and designing Men, set on Foot, says our Author, and carry'd on by the Agency of the Spirits of Darkness. And 'tis observable that the Old Serpent took the same Course in tempting the second *Adam* with a Text from Scripture; and I know not any Author that ever copy'd closer after the Devil in this very thing, than the *Author of the Rights of the Christian Church*, who with all the Strength of Delusion, has done his best to set up the Kingdom of Darkness, and to unchurch Christendom from Scripture.

taken from her own Quiver, for the Heresies are to look with a Gospel Face in Emulation of divine Truth, and the Spirits of Error have a great Stroak in the Picture. These are they which suborn Men to discolour the Doctrines of Salvation, and stain 'em with their own Inventions. By the same spiritual Wickednesses are Fables foisted in, to invalidate the Credibility of our Religion, or rather to procure this Credibility for themselves, that the Doctrines of Devils being dress'd up like Truth might have the same Veneration with the Word of God; so that either a Man might disbelieve a Christian, because he disbelieves a Poet, or a Philosopher, or rather conclude he has the greater Reason to give Credit to a Philosopher, or a Poet, because he cannot find in his heart to believe a Christian. From this sacrilegious Mixture it is, that we are so ridicul'd when we preach about the Day of Judgment, for in imitation of this, the Poets and Philosophers have their tribunal in the infernal Region; and if we threaten 'em with Hell, which is a subterranean Treasure of secret Fire reserv'd for the Punishment of the Wicked, we are hooted at; for thus they ape us too with their ^h *Puriphlegeton* or burning

^h *Sic enim Pyriphlegeton apud mortuos amnis est.*] From the 7th of *Daniel* and the 10th verse, where 'tis said, that a fiery Stream issued and came forth from before him, thousand thousands ministr'd unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, and the Judgment was set, and the Books were opened. From this Passage, I say, *Eusebius* shews the affinity between *Plato* and the Prophet as to the future Judgment, and particularly that the *Puriphlegeton* or Burning River in *Plato* καὶ Ἰουχὼν is plainly the fiery Stream in *Daniel*. Vid *Euseb. præp. Evan. l. 11. c. 58.*

River among the shades below ; and if we mention ⁱ Paradise, a Place of divine Pleasure, destin'd for the Reception of the Spirits of holy

ⁱ *Et si Paradisum nominemus, Locum Divinae amenitatis recipiendis Sanctorum Spiritibus destinatum, incoerentia quâdam ignea illius Zone segregatum.*] Paradise, says Philo de Plant. Noë p. 171. is σύμβολον ψυχῆς ὑπὸ πλῆθους καὶ μεγέθους χαρᾶς ἀνασκησώτης, *The Representation of a Soul exulting for fulness and cause of joy.* By Paradise or Abraham's Bosom, or Abraham's Port as the Greek Word κόλπος truly signifies, the primitive Christians understood a Place of Ease and divine Happiness, next to Heaven but not Heaven it self, or the perfect Fruition of the beatifick Vision ; they were of Opinion that the departed Souls of just Men in general ascended not into Heaven, till after the Resurrection ; which *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* prove from the Example of Christ, to which we must be conform'd ; for Christ himself did not ascend into Heaven till after his Resurrection, but as his Body rested in the Grave, so his Soul went into the Place of departed Souls, and when he rose again, then he ascended into Heaven ; and thus, say they, we must do also. Not that they affirm'd no Souls immediately enter'd into Heaven, for they believ'd the Souls of Martyrs did, and this Belief seems to have encreas'd the Passion so much for Martyrdom in that Age. Here then the Reader is desir'd to observe, that *Tertullian* asserts a *Middle State* without a *Purgatory*, for he asserts Paradise to be a Garden of divine Pleasure prepared for the Refreshment of holy Souls till the Resurrection ; and therefore our Author cou'd not possibly imagin it to be a Place of Torment, to expiate the temporal Punishment due to Sin, when the Eternal Punishment is remitted, which is the *Popish Purgatory*, an Invention not only against the current Doctrine of the Fathers, but highly derogatory to the all-sufficient Merits of our crucifi'd Master ; a most discouraging and barbarous Representation of the Christian Religion, and such a one as had never been framed, had it not been a convenient Engin to make a Way into the Pockets of the People. This Paradise (says our Author) is guarded about with a *Wall of Fire*, like what the *Torrid Zone* is commonly suppos'd to be, plainly alluding to the *Cherubim and the flaming Sword which turn'd ev'ry Way to keep the Way of the Tree of Life* ; hereby intimating, as I conceive, that as Paradise was the blissful Seat of Man in Innocence, so Abraham's Bosom or Port was such an Eden of Happiness for righteous Spirits ; and as that was guarded from the Re-entrance of sinful Adam and his Posterity by those *ministering Spirits*, which the *Psalmist*, and after him the *Author to the Hebrews* calls a *Flame of Fire*, so was this blessed Mansion of Pure Souls, this Port after the Storms of Life, secur'd by the same Ministers from the

the

holy Men, and guarded from the Notice of the common World by the Torrid Zone or Wall of Fire, immediately they trump upon us with their *Elysium*. From whence now, I pray, had your Poets and Philosophers these Resemblances? Whence, if not from the Books of our sacred Mysteries? And if they copy'd from them, then they have the Prerogative of Antiquity, and consequently are the more credible; since you look upon an Original of more Authority than the Copy. But now, if they were the Founders of these Inventions, then we must take our Religion from them, which is as impossible in Nature, as for a ^k Shadow to be before the Substance, or the Image before the Reality.

the Incurſion of evil Spirits: The Devil they knew to be Prince of the Air, and this lower Region to be fill'd with his Legions, who in the Opinion of the Fathers ſtood always ready to ſeize on a departed Soul; and therefore as the Soul of *Lazarus* was carried by the Angels into *Abraham's Boſom*, ſo they concluded that ev'ry righteous Soul in the like manner was conducted in Triumph thro' the Dominions of the Devil, and lodg'd in the ſame Port of Happineſs till the Day of Judgment.

^k *Nunquam enim corpus Umbra, aut veritatem Imago præcedit.*] It was a mighty Objection with the Heathens, that Chriſtianity was a novel Upſtart Religion, form'd out of the Corruption of the *Heathen* Mythology; but this *Tertullian* argues to be as impoſſible, as for the ſhadow to be before the Substance, or an Imitation before the Reality. This very Objection we find almoſt continually in the Mouth of *Celsus* the *Epicurean*; for, ſays he, *The Building of the Tower of Babel and the Confuſion of Tongues, were patch'd up out of the Fable of the Aloadæ in Homer's Odyſſes; the Story of the Flood, from Deucalion; Paradise from Alcinoüs his Gardens; the Burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, from the Story of Phaeton: The Folly of which Objection, Origen unanſwerably demonſtrates, by ſhewing the far greater Antiquity of thoſe Relations among the Jews, than of theſe or any other Fables among the Greeks; and therefore the Corruption of the Tradition muſt be in them, and not in the Jews. Vid. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 4. p. 174, 179.*

C H A P. XLVIII.

Concerning the Resurrection of the Body.

L E T us now consider a little the different Treatment of a Philosopher, and a Christian ; if a Philosopher affirms, as *Laberius* from *Pythagoras* has done, that after death, the Soul of a Man departs into a Mule, and that of a Woman into a Serpent, and turns all the Sails of Eloquence to carry this absurd Point ; shall not he find Credit, and harangue some of you into abstinence even from the Flesh of Animals ? And will not many scruple to eat a Piece of Beef, for fear of eating a Piece of their Ancestors ? But now if a Christian shall affirm, that Man shall be made Man again after Death, and *Cains* rise the very same *Cains* again, he is in Danger of being Mob'd, and having all the Sticks and Stones in the street presently about his Ears. But if you can find it reasonable to believe the Transmigration of humane Souls from Body to Body, why shou'd you think it incredible for the Soul to return to the Substance it first inhabited ? For this is our Notion of a Resurrection, to be that again after Death, which we were before ; for according to the *Pythagorean* Doctrine, these Souls now are not the same they were, because they cannot be what they were not, without ceasing to be what they were. A man might be very merry upon this Subject,

Subject, had he leisure and inclination to give himself a Loose, and hunt after all the Animals in which all the departed Souls from the Beginning have taken up their Lodgings.

But instead of digressing, I think it of more Consequence to establish this Doctrine of the Resurrection; and we propose it as more agreeable to Reason, and the Dignity of humane Nature, to believe, that Man will be remade Man, and ev'ry Person after Death be himself again; so that the Soul shall be habited with the same Qualities it was invested with in its former Union, tho' the Man may receive some Alteration in his Figure. For certainly the Reason of a Resurrection is only in order to Judgment; and therefore 'tis necessary that the Bodies which have been instrumental to the Actions, shou'd be the same Bodies which are summon'd from the Grave to Judgement, *that every one may receive the Things done in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or whether it be evil.*

The Graves then shall repay the Bodies at the Day of Judgment, because 'tis not conceivable perhaps how a mere Soul shou'd be passible without an Union with Matter, I mean the Flesh; but especially because the divine Justice will have Souls suffer in the Bodies they have sinn'd. But perhaps you'll ask how the Particles of a Body dissolv'd to Dust, can be made to rally and reunite after such a Dissolution? Reflect upon your self, O Man, and in your self you will find an An-

swer. Consider what you was before you had Existence, you was nothing at all ; for if you had been a Man, you might have remember'd something of it : As therefore you may be said to be Nothing before you was in being, to just such a Nothing will you return again when you cease to be. Why then cannot you be recall'd from this second Nothing, as you think it, by the same Almighty Word, which call'd you from your first ? Where now is the wonderful Difference in these two cases ? You who was not, are made to be, and when you shall not be again, God shall make you what you was. Be pleas'd now, if you can, to solve me the Mode of your Creation, and then demand the Manner of your Resurrection. And yet methinks, you may easily conceive the Possibility of restoring you to a former Being, since you was with the same ease made something out of Nothing. Is the Power of that God to be disputed who rais'd this Universe from Nothing, from Nothing as it were but the Death of Privation or pure Void, and animated it with that Spirit which is the universal Life ? And he has impress'd upon this World for your Conviction many Testimonies of the humane Resurrection. For the Light which daily departs, rises again with its primitive Splendor ; and Darkness succeeds by equal Turns ; the Stars which leave the World revive ; the Seasons, when they have finish'd their Course, renew it again ; the Fruits are consum'd and bloom afresh ; and that which we sow is not quick'ned except it die, and by
that

that Dissolution rises more fruitful. Thus you see how all Things are renew'd by Corruption, and reformed by Dying. And you, O Man! did you but understand the Nobility of that Title, and which you might have understood even from *Apollo's* Oracle, how cou'd you imagine that Man, the Lord of all these dying and reviving Things, shou'd himself die for ever? In what Place soever therefore the Cord of Life is broken, whatsoever Element has your Body in destroying, in abolishing, in annihilating, it shall deliver up the Pledge, and return you whole; for pure Nothing is as much at the divine Word, as his whole Creation.

But then, say you, here will be nothing but dying and rising in endless Succession. If the Sovereign of the World had order'd it thus, you must have taken your destin'd Turns whether you would or no; but now he has establish'd a Resurrection once for all, as he has taught by his *Word*; that *Word* or *Reason* which compos'd the Universe of various Elements, and made it a consistent harmonious System by a due Temperament of opposite Principles, of Vacuum and Matter, Animate and Inanimate, Comprehensible and Incomprehensible, Light and Darkness, Life and Death. The same *Word* who thus made and preserv'd the World, has likewise so pointed and distinguish'd Time, that the first Period from the Creation shall run out the determin'd Stage of Years, but the succeeding Space, on which all our thoughts are fixt, is endless Duration:

But

But between these two there is an *Isthmus* or or ¹ middle Term of Time, and when this Period is over, and the Beauty of this new World likewise had its Season, which is but a goodly Curtain between us and Eternity, then all humane Kind shall be restor'd to Life, to answer for their several Works, whether they be

¹ *Cum ergo finis, & limes medius qui interbiat, adfuerit, &c.]* Between the Conclusion of this World and the Commencement of the World eternal, there is an *Isthmus* or middle Term of Time. By which he undoubtedly means the *Chiliasm*, or thousand years Reign upon Earth; for this he maintains in his Books against *Marcion*, lib. 2. c. 23. p. 411. Now this is an Error, (if it be one) wherein *Tertullian* stands not alone, but in the good Company of *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons*, *Justin Martyr*, *Nepos*, *Apollinaris*, *Victorinus*, *Lactantius*, and *Severus Gallus*, with many Others. But then it is to be remember'd, that this was an Opinion they laid no stress upon, for *Justin Martyr* confesses and without any Censure, that there were many sincere and devout Christians who did not hold it, and many others also of the same Mind with himself, and so leaves it as a matter Indifferent. *Vid. Dial. cum Tryphone*, p. 306, 307, 369. This Notion seems to be first set on foot by the foremention'd *Papias*, a very good Man but of no great Reach, as *Eusebius* remarks, *Eccl. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 39. p. 112*, who by not seeing into the mystical Meaning of the Apostles Discourses, ran presently away with it as an Apostolical Tradition; just perhaps as we find from the Misunderstanding of our Saviour's Words to *St. Peter*, — *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee, follow thou me; then went this saying abroad among the Brethren that that Disciple (namely John) should not die.* Now from a Doctrine so harmless in it self and Consequences, according to the Sense of the Orthodox, (tho' abus'd indeed by *Cerinthus* and his Followers) recommended by the venerable Antiquity of an Apostolical Person, as *Papias* was, an Opinion that has so much to be said for it from Scripture, from the Revelations especially, as appears by the Learned *Mr. Mede* and others, and which we are freely left to believe or disbelieve at our Discretion; is it not, I say, very disingenuous as well as very Trifling in *Mr. Daillé* to argue from hence against the Authority of the *Fathers*? As if their Authority was the less valuable in Matters of Faith, wherein they are all unanimous and pressing, and in Matters of Fact wherein they cannot be Mistaken, because forsooth in some Cases of Tradition or Reasoning 'tis possible they may be mistaken, and wherein they expressly declare that 'tis no matter of Consequence if they are.

good

good or evil ; and then consign'd over to a State of immense Perpetuity ; and then Death and Resurrection shall be no more, but we shall be the same we now are, and the same for ever : The Worshippers of God shall be clothed upon with a Substance proper for everlasting Duration, and fixt in a perpetual Union with God ; but the Prophane and the Hypocrite shall be doom'd to a Lake of everflowing Fire, and fuel'd with Incorruptibility from the divine indefectible Nature of that Flame which torments them. Philosophers are not unacquainted with the difference of secret and common Fire, the Fire which serves for the Use of Man, is quite of another Nature from that which Ministers to the Justice of God ; whether it be that, which shoots the Thunderbolts from Heaven, or that which belches from the Bowels of Mountains, for it burns without consuming, and repairs what it preys upon ; the Mountains therefore burn, and maintain themselves by burning, and the Man who is blasted from Heaven is insur'd from being burnt to Ashes ; and this may be a Testimony of the Eternal Fire, an Emblem of those Flames which are decreed to nourish the damned in Torment : The Mountains burn with perpetual Fire, and are Mountains still ; why therefore may not the Wicked and the Enemies of God burn like these ?

C H A P. XLIX.

That the Christian Doctrine ought not to be persecuted because the World can't be well without it.

THese Things then are decry'd as groundless Whimsy, and Caprichio in us alone ; but in the Philosophers and Poets who stole 'em from us, are deem'd prodigious Attainments, the brightest Discoveries and noblest Flights of Human Wit ; for the same Things, they are the Sages and we the Simpletons ; they are laden with Respect, and we with Derision, and what is worse with Punishment. But allowing our Tenets to be as false, and groundless Presumptions as you wou'd have 'em, yet I must tell you, that they are Presumptions the World can't be well without ; if they are Follies, they are Follies of great Use, because the Believers of 'em, what under the Dread of eternal Pain, and the Hope of everlasting Pleasure, are under the strongest Obligations possible to become the best of Men. It can never therefore be a politick Expedient to cry down Doctrines for false and foolish, which 'tis ev'ry Man's Interest to presume true ; 'tis upon no account advisable to condemn Opinions so serviceable to the publick. You then are the presumptuous and Impertinent, and not we ; you who rashly adventure to pass Sentence against Principles so palpably conducing to general Good ; however, if you will upbraid our Religion with Folly and Impertinence

pertinence, yet certainly you can never charge it with Mischief to any Person breathing; you can at most but look upon it like abundance of other *Romances*, which by the Laws are not penal, and which tho' vain and fabulous, are not criminal, but as harmless Stories, without Accusation or Punishment, pass freely among you. For Errors of such inoffensive nature, at worst shou'd only be condemn'd to Ridicule, and not to Fire and Sword, Gibbets and Beasts; at which savage Executions, not only the Mob are transported with Insolence and cruel Satisfaction, but even some of your Magistrates pride your selves in the same Barbarities, the better to recommend your selves to the Populace; as if the whole of your Power against us was not dependent upon our own Will and defeatable at Pleasure. For instance, I am certainly a Christian because 'tis my Will and Pleasure so to be, then you shall condemn me, if I please to be condemn'd; and if you cou'd not condemn me, if I wou'd not persist in my Religion, 'tis plain your Power depends upon my Will. In like manner the People shew as much Folly as Brutishness in rejoicing at the Sufferings of Christians; for these Sufferings which give them only a malicious Pleasure, a Pleasure they usurp without a Title, feed the Christian Sufferers with just and substantial Comforts, who chuse to be condemned, rather than to fall from their Affiance in God, and the Expectations of the other World: For wou'd these People act consequentially who thus hate us, they ought rather

ther to grieve than rejoice at our Torments, because these Torments put us in possession of our Heart's Desire.

C H A P. L.

The Christian Triumph.

WHAT Reason then, say you, have we Christians to complain of our Sufferings, when we are so fond of Persecution; we ought rather to love those who persecute us so sweetly to our Hearts content. 'Tis true indeed, we are not against Suffering, when the Captain of our Salvation calls us forth to suffer; but let me tell you, 'tis with us in our Christian Warfare, as 'tis with you in yours, we ^m chuse to Suffer, as you chuse to Fight;

^m *Plane volumus pati, verum eo more quo & bellum miles, nemo quippe libens patitur.*] We chuse to suffer as you chuse to fight, but no Man chuses Fighting for Fighting sake. Some of the blinder and perverser sort of Heathens derided the Primitive Martyrs, (as their Passive Followers since have been) for a Sect of besotted insatuated Fellows, who did neither know nor feel what it was they underwent: But our Author tells them, that the Flesh and Blood of Christians was like other Folks, that they understood *natural Rights and Liberties*, had the same Aversion to Suffering, the same Passion for Preservation and Pleasure that the Heathens had; and whereas they alone were the People who seem'd to have forgot *Humanity* by their enduring the most exquisite Torments, not only with Patience, but with Joy and Thanksgiving, yet this was far from the Effect of any *Stoical Apathy*, but purely the Strength of their Faith, which overcame the Reluctance of Nature, the sure and certain Hope of the Resurrection to eternal Life, which enabled them to despise the Life present, and that light Affliction which is but for a moment, and which worketh for them a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.

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but no Man chuses Fighting for Fighting sake, because he cannot engage without Fear and Hazard of Life. Yet nevertheless, when the brave Souldier finds he must engage, he battels it with all his Power, and if he comes off victorious is full of Joy, tho' just before not without his Complaints of a military Life, because he has obtain'd his End, laden with Glory, laden with Spoil.

Thus it is with Christians, we enter into Battel, when we are cited to your Tribunals, there to combat for Truth with the Hazard of our Life. To set up Truth is our Victory, and the Victor's Glory is to please his God, and the precious Spoil of that Victory is eternal Life; and this Life we certainly win by dying for it, therefore we conquer when we are killed, and being killed, are out of the reach of you, and all other Vexations for ever.

Give us now what Names you please from the Instruments of Cruelty you torture us by, call us *Sarmenticians* and *Semaxians*, because you fasten us to Trunks of Trees, and stick us about with ⁿ Faggots to set us on fire; yet let

ⁿ *Hæc Palmata vestis, &c.*] This among the Romans was the *Triumphal Robe*, all o'er embroider'd with *Palm-branches* in token of Victory; a Christian then, says *Tertullian*, never thinks himself so fine, never so illustrious as at the Stake, with Fire and Faggot about him; he then is in his triumphal Chariot going to Heaven in State. *Eusebius* tells us, it was a most charming Sight to behold the Martyr's in Prison, to see how their Misery became them, how they adorn'd their Fetters, and that they look'd as Captivating in Chains, as a Bride in all her Glories at the Day of Marriage. *Vid. Euf. Hist. Ec. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 160.* So far were they from complaining of Providence, that they bless'd God the more for the Honour of Suffering,

let me tell you, when we are thus begirt and dress'd about with Fire, we are then in our most illustrious Apparel. These are our victorious Palms and Robes of Glory, and mounted upon our Funeral Pile we look upon our selves in our triumphal Chariot. No wonder then such passive Heroes please not those they vanquish with such conquering Sufferings; and therefore we pass for Men of Despair, and violently bent upon our own Destruction. However, that which you are pleas'd to call Madness and Despair in us, are the very Actions, which under Virtue's Standard lift up your Sons of Fame and Glory, and emblazon 'em to future Ages. Thus *Mutius Scaevola* immortaliz'd himself by voluntarily sacrificing his right Hand to the Flames for mistaking the Enemy. O Exaltation of Mind! *Empedocles*

ing, and gave Thanks to their Judges for condemning them; so far from being ashamed of their Bonds, that they gloried in them, and therefore we find that *Babylas* the Martyr order'd the Chains he wore in Prison, to be buried with him. *Vid. Chrys. l. de S. Bab. Tom. 1. p. 669.* Here then we see a Christian Triumph, the true Spirit of the first Ages, nor wou'd I interpose any cold Criticisms on this last and most excellent Chapter, that my Reader might not be interrupted; but go off with a full Impression, with all the Fire and Devotion of the Writer; for in the Bishop of Sarum's words, *I confess there is no Piece of Story I read with so much Pleasure, as the Accounts that are given of these Martyrs, for methinks they leave a Feror upon my Mind, which I meet with in no Study, that of the Scriptures being only excepted.* I conclude all with that admirable Collect of our own Church upon the Festival of St. Stephen, so exactly conformable to the primitive Spirit, Grant, O Lord, that in all our Sufferings here upon Earth for the Testimony of thy Truth, we may stedfastly look up to Heaven, and by Faith behold the Glory that shall be revealed, and being filled with the holy Ghost, may learn to love and bless our Persecutors, by the Example of thy first Martyr St. Stephen; who prayed for his Murtherers to thee, O Blessed Jesus, who standest at the Right Hand of God to succour all those that suffer for thee, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen. Amen.

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offer'd his whole self to the Flames of *Ætna* near *Catana*; O Vigour of Soul! the Foundress of *Carthage* bequeath'd her self to the Fire, to avoid a second Marriage; O Monument of Chastity! *Regulus* not willing to put his Country to the Expence of redeeming himself alone, with the Liberty of many Enemies, chose to go back and suffer all the Torments they cou'd inflict upon every part of his Body; O brave *Regulus*, in Captivity Conqueror! *Anaxarchus* while the Executioner was pounding him like Barly in a Mill; pound on, pound on, says he, for you pound not *Anaxarchus* but his Budget. O notable Magnanimity of Philosopher, who had Presence of Mind enough to pun while he was pounding! I mention not those, who seem to have contracted for Praise at the Price of cutting their own Throats, or dispatching themselves by some sweeter Method; for lo! you crown as meritorious, even a meer spiteful Contention for Degrees of Torture: For a Strumpet of *Athens* having quite tir'd out her Executioner, at length to her immortal Honour, bit off her Tongue, and spit it in the Tyrant's Face, that so she might put it out of her Power to discover the Conspirators, shou'd the Torments chance to get the better of her Resolution. *Zeno Eleates* being demanded by *Dionysius* the Use of Philosophy, told him it was to raise Men to a Contempt of Death, and by the Tyrant's Order was whipt to death for an Experiment, and ratify'd his Doctrine with his Blood. The *Lacedæmonian*

Method, of enuring their People to Hardiness, is to put 'em into a Course of Scourging, and to double their Discipline in the presence of any of their Friends, who read the Scholars a Lecture of Patience, while they are under the Lash ; and ev'ry Scholar carry'd home a Quantity of Honour, according to the Quantity of Blood he left behind him. O true Glory, because of human Stamp and Fashion ! not one of all these Contemners of Death and Cruelty in its several Shapes, have had their Actions sullied with the Imputation of Despair and Madness. A Man shall suffer with Honour for his Country, for the Empire, for a Friend, what he is not tolerated to suffer for his God. Strange ! that you shou'd look upon the Patience of Christians, as such an inglorious thing, and yet for the Persons aforesaid cast Statues, and adorn Figures with Inscriptions and magnificent Titles, to perpetuate the Memory of their Actions to Eternity, to such an Eternity as Monuments can bestow ; and by this means give 'em a kind of Resurrection from the Dead. On the contrary, he who expects a real Resurrection, and in hopes of this suffers for the Word of God, shall pass among you for a Sot and a Madman.

And now, O worshipful Judges, go on with your Shew of Justice, and believe me, you'll be juster and juster still in the Opinion of the People, the oft'ner you make 'em a Sacrifice of Christians. Crucifie, Torture, Condemn, Grind

us all to Powder if you can ; your Injustice is an illustrious Proof of our Innocence, and for the Proof of this it is, that God permits us to suffer ; and by your late Condemnation of a Christian Woman to the Lust of a Pander, rather than the Rage of a Lion, you notoriously confess that such a Pollution is more abhorred by a Christian, than all the Torments and Deaths you can heap upon her. But do your worst, and rack your Inventions for Tortures for Christians, 'tis all to no purpose ; you do but attract the World, and make it fall the more in love with our Religion ; the more you mow us down, the thicker we rise ; the Christian Blood you spill is like the Seed you sow, it springs from the Earth again, and fructifies the more. Many of your Philosophers have set themselves to write the World into Patience and a Contempt of Death, as *Cicero* in his *Tusculane Questions*, *Seneca* in his *Remedies against Accidents*, *Diogenes*, *Pyrrhon*, and *Callinicus* ; but their pompous Glitter of Words has not made the Tithe of Disciples that our Lives have done. That which you reproach in us as Stubborness, has been the most instructing Mistress in proselyting the World ; for who has not been struck at the Sight of that you call Stubborness, and from thence push'd on to look into the Reality and Reason of it ? And who ever look'd well into our Religion, but came over to it ? And who ever came over, but was ready to suffer for it, to purchase the Favour of God, and obtain
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the Pardon of all his Sins, tho' at the Price of his Blood? for Martyrdom is sure of Mercy. For this Reason it is, that we thank you for condemning us, because there is such a blessed Emulation and Discord between the divine and human Judgment, that when you condemn us upon Earth, God absolves us in Heaven.

FINIS.





Date Due

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